

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. III.—No. XXVIII.—NEW SERIES.

APRIL 1, 1848.

PRICE 5d.

SUGAR AND COFFEE PLANTING COMMITTEE.

This Committee was appointed by the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord George Bentinck, "to inquire into the present condition and prospects connected with and dependent on sugar and coffee planting in Her Majesty's East and West Indian possessions and the Mauritius, and to consider whether any and what measures can be adopted by Parliament for their relief." The Committee, presided over by Lord George Bentinck, as chairman, is composed as follows:—Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Cardwell, Sir Thomas Birch, Mr. Henry Hope, Mr. Charles Villiers, Mr. Philip Miles, Mr. James Wilson, Lord George Manners, Mr. Moffatt, Sir John Pakington, Mr. James Matheson, and Sir Edward N. Buxton. It will be seen, at a glance, that this committee is composed of protectionists and free-traders, and that with one exception only, the anti-slavery cause is unrepresented by it. As the fruit of its labours, three reports, comprising 871 pages of evidence, have been printed; but it is remarkable how little of it really bears upon the merits of the question, considered in its relation to the real and permanent interests of our sugar-growing colonies, and the still higher interests of human liberty and happiness.

The protectionists, of course, wish to make out a case, in support of their favourite theory; and, therefore, every tittle of evidence they can scrape together, is recorded, to show that the ruin of West India interests is to be traced to the operation of the laws abolishing slavery; to the restrictions which have been laid on the supply of foreign labourers to the emancipated colonies; and to the introduction of foreign sugars into the home markets, in competition with those from the British East and West Indies. On the other hand, the free-traders, in their cross-examinations of the witnesses, have endeavoured to show that protection has not been, and never can be permanently, beneficial to any class of interests whatever. They would trace the existing distress to other causes than want of protection. Whilst, however, they are at issue with the protectionists, on the propriety of recommending to Parliament the re-imposition of a differential duty on foreign sugars, for the benefit of the British sugar-growers, they appear ready to unite with them in recommending a code of laws of a stringent character, embracing contracts, vagrancy, and police, which shall give the planters greater command over their labourers than they state they possess at present; and a system of immigration, so extensive in its character, as shall reduce the price of labour to its minimum point.

The witnesses examined were all interested parties, smarting under the losses they have sustained by the Sugar Act of 1846, which has flooded the British markets with slave, as well as free-grown sugars. It will not, therefore, be considered surprising, that in their evidence they have fallen into exaggerations on the one hand, or have been led into concealments on the other. Far be it from us, however, to charge them with wilful mis-statements, or a corrupt intention to deceive. The faults of their testimony are perhaps to be traced rather to the mode in which they were examined, than to any design on their parts to mislead. Yet we venture to assert, that whoever depends upon the evidence submitted to this committee, will fall into gross errors; and they who venture to legislate upon it will commit great mistakes. Had the object of the committee been a thorough examination of the causes which have led to the present deplorable condition of the British sugar-growers, with a view to the application of such remedies as are fairly within the power of Parliament to apply, we should have rejoiced; but this certainly has not been the case. The great act of emancipation has been attacked—the overthrow

of the iniquitous apprenticeship has been condemned—the existence of a stipendiary magistracy has been deplored—the restrictions laid on immigration have been denounced—the alleged mildness of the laws has been reprobated, and their administration complained of as partial and unjust.

The case of the East Indians was presented by Messrs. A. Crooke, Wray, Hardman, Kemshead, W. Scott, N. Alexander, and A. F. Arbuthnot; J. Bagshaw, Esq. M.P., and H. St. George Tucker, Esq., Chairman of the East India Company, assisted by J. C. Melvill, Esq. and Mr. F. W. Prideaux. From their evidence, it would appear that the capital invested by various companies, as well as individuals, in the culture and manufacture of sugar in India, has been attended with such severe losses since 1846, that they are about winding up their affairs, unless they are effectually protected from the competition of slave-grown sugars. This will, of course, lead to a great diminution of supplies from that quarter, and will give a larger market, in consequence, to Cuba and Brazil. We cannot present our readers, at present, with a full view of the East India evidence—that we shall reserve for another occasion—but shall confine ourselves to the most material points in the case of Mauritius, so far as it appears in the evidence already printed:—

MAURITIUS.

COMPARATIVE COST OF SLAVE AND FREE LABOUR.

On this point, Mr. Hugh Hunter, co-proprietor of several estates in Mauritius, which produced 4,500 tons of sugar in 1846, and employed 3,000 labourers, gave the following evidence:—

"During the time of slavery, or apprenticeship, the Africans were fed three days a week from manioc, which is the cassava of the West Indies; and four days in each week we fed the men on rice, which we imported from Calcutta. The manioc grown on the estate," he said, "I put down for nothing. The rice, £1. 15s. per head per annum; salt fish, 1s. 6d. a month, say 18s. per annum; which makes £2. 13s. for food. The clothing came to 14s. a year each man; the medical attendance and medicine, 4s. In all, £3. 11s. per head."—*Report*, pp. 208 and 209.

In answer to the question, "Have you any estimate of the present cost of free labourers on the same estate?" Mr. Hunter replied:—

"I have; on almost all the estates, they are nearly the same; taking the last average of the wages which I have received from the island are four dollars, or 16s. a month; there are some men at three dollars, and others at three and a half, and the sirdars or headmen, or overseers, receive, perhaps, five dollars (I am not speaking of the superior overseers, but of men in the same class, men who take care of the engines, and so on), the average, as nearly as possible, including those men, is seven dollars a month, or 28s. for food and clothing, and that makes £16. 16s. a year."—*Ibid.* p. 209.

In addition to this sum Mr. Hunter said:—

"There are special taxes levied for defraying the cost of immigration, upon wines and different articles, that falls on the consumer, and the proportion of that which falls on each proprietor, I put down at £1.; medical attendance and medicine is 4s., the same as it was during the slave times. * * * * * That makes £19. a-year for each Coolie labourer."

We cannot but think the cost of Coolie labour rated too high by Mr. Hunter, for we find in a despatch of Sir W. Gomm's, dated 24th December, 1846, he thus alludes to the subject of wages, in reply to the charge of the planters of the exactions of the Coolies:—

"I have incontestable proof before me of wages and expenses of employers connected with them, not only not rising in this busiest season of the crop, but very decidedly falling, and within very reasonable limits,

14s. and 12s. per month; and I have on record an instance of a principal complainant of the exactions of the Indians in the last address forwarded, re-engaging labourers on an estate in which he was interested, at 10s. per month, the general rate of hire on first landing in the colony; and this occurred while I was dispatching the complaint to your lordship."—*Par. Pop. No. 61, 1848, p. 25.*

Again, in a despatch dated the 18th May, 1847, adverting to the same subject, he says:—

"It is here shown that in the season of the last year, in which the complaint was loudest among these parties, that wages were rising generally throughout the colony to 16s. per month, these gentlemen found no difficulty in engaging a band of seventy-two men for the year, at wages of 9s. 2d. monthly (10s. being the ordinary rate with all able-bodied new arrivals); and that the greater part of these have re-engaged at 12s., with curtailment of the ration and clothing, at a moment when the island is without a single fresh arrival for the space of five months."—*Ibid. p. 151.*

In a subsequent despatch, dated the 4th of October, 1847, Sir Wm. Gomm intimates a still further decline in the rate of wages, in the following terms:—

"Your Lordship is doubtless aware that up to a recent date the wages offered to the immigrant making his *debut* in the colony, have been invariably fixed by custom at 10s.

"The rate was established by universal practice, dating from the renewal of immigration, as it had been under the earlier introductions. A partial deviation from it was observed and reported upon several months since; but, as I have stated above, the change has now become systematic, and the hands arriving by the last fourteen ships from Calcutta since the close of May, have invariably been engaged for twelve months, at wages of 8s. per month."—*Ibid. p. 250.*

From these quotations, it is clear that the average wages of the Coolie labourers do not exceed 12s. to 14s. per month for second hirings; in other words, for efficient labourers. Now, admitting that Mr. Hunter paid the highest rate of wages current in the island, viz. 14s. per month, that would give for the year £8. 8s. But Mr. Hunter says that it costs him "seven dollars a month, or 28s. for food and clothing," thus giving 12s. per month as the cost of rations for each Coolie. The same exaggeration will be found in this statement as well as in that relating to wages. In a despatch, dated the 9th of March, 1847, Sir Wm. Gomm thus adverts to the subject:—

"Having long considered it a primary duty of a governor of this colony, so to represent its concerns from time to time to Her Majesty's Government, as shall in his estimation obviate the possibility of any particular interests, however commanding and influential, unduly engaging its protection, or burthening other interests unfairly for their special accommodation; and finding through the course of a four years' experience, that there are bodies in this very mixed community who have special means at command for getting their representations attended to, but who systematically exaggerate their difficulties, and, in the heated pursuit of their own objects, are not unfrequently led into the indiscretion of misrepresenting important facts; I have from time to time found myself imperatively called upon to meet these general and systematic mis-statements with authentic reports and special returns; as in the cases of my two recent despatches, in which the general allegations of vast increase of wages, rations, and other expense contracted for, are sufficiently disproved.

"The cost of the rations to the provider is not, however, distinctly pointed out in any of these reports; and as this is generally and loosely rated at 10s. monthly by the complainants, I have thought it necessary to make a special inquiry into the fact, and the result will show this statement also to be much exaggerated.

"The enclosed return is furnished me at my request, by the Deputy-Commissary-general on the station; it gives the rates of the contract price for the year, of each article comprised in the ration fixed by the tariff; and my returns already forwarded will show, that in its essential articles there is trifling departure from this generally on the estates.

Statement of the Monthly Cost per Head of the following Scale of Rations:—

1 $\frac{10}{16}$ lbs. of rice, 2 oz. of salt fish, $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. of salt, 1 oz. of ghee.

Commissariat Contract Prices.

593 lbs. of rice per annum, at 13s. 9d. per 162 lb.	£2 10 4
45 $\frac{10}{16}$ lbs. of salt fish per annum, at 18s. per 100 lb. ..	0 8 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
5 $\frac{11}{16}$ of salt per annum, at 3s. 2d. per 100 lb.	0 0 2
22 $\frac{13}{16}$ of ghee per annum, at 66s. per 100 lb.	0 15 0
	£3 13 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Monthly cost of rations, 6s. 2d.

Clothing allowed per annum.

6 ells of white cloth at 10d. per ell	0 5 0
1 cumlie	0 2 7
	0 7 7

"The rating by this table is a high one. Thus the principal item of expense borne upon the table may be considered as overrated.

"With respect also to ghee or mantegue (a coarse butter), the supply of this article by the employer is far from universal; and where omitted, would reduce the monthly cost per man, from 6s. 2d. (its present showing), to 4s. 11d., in place of 10s., the rating of committees and associations.

"Dholl (a species of pea) will be found frequently to form part of the ration, in addition to salt fish. Its cost is inconsiderable, something exceeding three dollars per bag by the last market returns.

"The ration also is set down in my several returns forwarded, concurrently with wages, as *that of crop term*, in which a higher allowance is usually stipulated for, than in the comparatively dead seasons of the year, in compensation for extra work performed at that period."—*Ibid. pp. 92, 93.*

Taking the highest rate for rations and clothing at 6s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each Coolie per month, that gives £4. 1s. 6d. per annum, which, added to the wages, £8. 8s., specified above, make £12. 9s. 6d. as the annual cost of an efficient Coolie on a Mauritius sugar estate.

With respect to the duties levied on wines and spirits, which Mr. Hunter charges himself with at the rate of £1. per head per annum for each Coolie; we must be permitted to doubt whether his agents and representatives are really so debauched as his statement would lead us to infer; but even were they in the habit of drinking to the extent implied, we should object to the cost of the indulgence in these luxuries being added to the amount annually expended on the Coolie. We will, however, add four shillings for medical assistance and medicine, and then the total will be £12. 13s. 6d. per head, which we believe to be much more than the average annual cost of the Coolie labourers in Mauritius.

Having thus pointed out the exaggerations of Mr. Hunter, we turn to his omission. This gentleman has, we have before seen, distinctly stated that his slaves cost him only £3. 11s. per head, per annum, for food, clothing, and medical attendance. It is true, however, that when pressed with certain unexpected and inconvenient questions, he admitted he had allowed nothing for the capital invested in his slaves; nothing for the loss of life sustained by them under the coercion of the whip; nothing for runaways, skulking, or sickness; and reluctantly admitted, that from 20 to 25 per cent. of his gang; that is to say, the aged, the infirm, and young children were unemployed; but, he said, "even admitting it, (that is, the items severally enumerated,) it would make the difference of £9. to £19." between the labour of the slave and of the Coolie; in other words, the cost of the former would be more than 120 per cent. greater than of the latter. Let us see. The value of the Mauritius slave, as returned for compensation, was £70. Mr. Hunter states the colonial rate of interest to have been nine per cent. per annum; this would give for one year's interest the sum of £6. 6s. The mortality of the slave population in the Mauritius, upon a moderate computation, ranged from five to ten per cent. per annum. Mr. Hunter, however, alleges it to have been "about two or three per cent." for 1833. Taking the latter rate, we must add for loss of life, £2. 2s. And, inasmuch as twenty-five per cent. of the gang were always absent from work, we must add to the cost of the working slaves, a proportionate amount of the loss sustained by the unemployed, say £3. 19s. 8d. The total of these several sums is £15. 18s. 8d., or £3. 5s. 3d. more than is paid for the annual services of an efficient Coolie labourer.

The foregoing statements will show how little reliance can be placed on the evidence of the witnesses examined before the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, when not subjected to a cross examination by persons willing, or competent, to pursue the investigation. We regret that we cannot present a full view of the Mauritius case this month; we shall not, however, lose sight of it, nor of the extraordinary demands which the Mauritian planters are bold enough to make on the British Government and the legislature of this country.



COST OF AGENCY TO THE PLANTERS IN MAURITIUS.

A great controversy has been for some time past carried on between the agents of the great London houses in Mauritius and the Governor, Sir William Gomm, in relation to the heavy charges imposed by the former on the planters. We, in a former number of the *Reporter*, gave the particulars of these charges. The accuracy of Sir William Gomm's statements has been denied, and some of the witnesses, examined before a Parliamentary Committee, state, that Sir William has greatly exaggerated them. According to Mr. E. Chapman, one of the gentlemen referred to by the Governor, the interest on advances in Mauritius varies from 6 to 9 per cent., according to the circumstances of the case. The charge for commission on sale, varies from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent.; there are no other commercial charges but those which are *bonâ fide* paid, such as wharfage charges, warehousing, and so on, which come to 10 per cent. Agents' commission $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and brokerage $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. With respect to the charge for counting and paying money, it is only stipulated for when large advances are made.

Sir William Gomm, however, in closing the discussion with the Mauritius agents upon this subject, reiterates his original statement in the following terms:—

"These statements import, that the Mauritius planter, depending upon his agent for pecuniary means to enable him to carry on the cultivation of his estate, incurs charges as follows, as an ordinary consequence of such obligation:

9	per cent.	interest on money advanced.
6	"	discount on sales of sugar.
5	"	charges for selling sugar.
$2\frac{1}{2}$	"	agency commission.
$\frac{1}{2}$	"	brokerage.
1	"	for counting and paying money.

24 per cent.

"I have considered it my duty to make these statements to the Colonial Office, in two despatches, which you tell me have been publicly laid before the House of Commons, No. 35, of the 18th, and 41, of 20th February, 1846, and I now advance them, deliberately, for the third time, while replying to your remonstrance.

"These are the charges upon a crop generally incurred by the planter indebted to you, selling his sugars in the colony (and you make it sufficiently apparent to me that his lot will not be improved by his sending them home), before, as I have stated in the despatch last named, 'before an estate can begin to defray the real expenses of its growth and produce, and before any profit accrues towards liquidation.'

"Some variation must, of course, be looked for in all such transactions, difference in the designation of particular charges, partial reduction or augmentation of particular items; and I am furnished with indisputable evidence of cases occurring in which the sum of charges in all this matter is underrated in the estimate now for the third time insisted upon by me as duly authentic in its details.

"Your continued erroneous application of passages occurring in the published despatches, upon which you fasten, will be sufficiently manifested in quarters where it is of most consequence that they should be so, to render needless a formal refutation from me, further than that already afforded in my letter to which you are replying."—*Par. pap.* No. 61—162.—1848.

It should be observed that the cost for wharfage, charges, warehousing, and so on, which come to ten per cent., as stated by Mr. E. Chapman, must be added to Sir Wm. Gomm's estimate to make it complete. Is it to be wondered at, that with burthens such as these the Mauritian planters should be unable to cultivate their estates at a profit; or, that when any considerable fall in the price of sugars takes place in the British markets they should be ruined?

MORALS OF THE COOLIES IN MAURITIUS.

In the last number of our *Reporter*, we called attention to the evidence of the special magistrates appointed by the Government, to inquire into the alleged immoralities of the Coolies; in which it was attempted to be denied that they were so bad as they had been represented. J. G. Raymond, Esq., recently an official in the island, was examined by the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee on this point, when he made the following statements in reply to the questions proposed to him:—

You are well acquainted with the population in the Mauritius?—I am.
Can you inform the Committee what is the state of morality of the

Coolie population in the island?—There is no morality at all among them.

In what direction does their immorality tend?—To the paucity of Indian women, and the dislike the negro women entertain for the Indian; they commit the most revolting crimes upon each other, and upon quadrupeds in the camps, and even on the high roads.

Are they also much addicted to intoxication?—Very much, indeed. Some of them have imbibed those habits in their own country. They have spirits at will when they arrive at the Mauritius.

What are the people from Bombay?—They are more tractable than the Madras.

Are they more moral?—No; they are all on a par in this respect.

Do they come with those bad principles and bad propensities, do you imagine, or do they learn them when they come into the island?—I believe they bring them all with them; the habit of indulging in liquor and spirits is a stronger incentive.

As far as their beastly propensities go, is that the case?—Yes; but they learn all those habits in their own countries.

Do the coolies generally leave their wives in India?—They do.

The women they have, are not their wives?—Not in one case out of twenty.

What kind of women are they?—Very improper women.

The prostitutes of the streets in Calcutta?—Yes.

Do they ever remit part of their wages home?—Sometimes they do, but not very often.

You do not know how their families are maintained during their absence?—No. From what I have heard of India, it does not take much to support persons there.

It is unnecessary that we should add a word to this frightful evidence.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Among the witnesses examined by the Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting, was a native of the United States, but for some years past a subject of the Brazilian Empire, Senor José Stephen Cliffe, M.D. This individual is the proprietor of certain diamond mines, and employs about 100 slaves. He is anxious to add to his stock, and purposes doing so on his return to Brazil. He has no scruples himself on the subject of slavery; and as to the slave-trade, he considers it to be a necessity, in the present circumstances of Brazil.

The evidence, of which we give the substance in the following analysis, can but faintly convey to our readers the impression made on the minds of those who heard it given *vivâ voce*. One might have supposed that this witness had been the inhabitant of another sphere, while describing the iniquities and horrors of the slave-trade, as practised at the present day. The only circumstance which seemed to connect him with human beings, was an exclamation which he uttered, when describing the intense sufferings of the wretched Africans from thirst. He said it was sometimes the case, that they could not get more than a single draught of water in three days. As though struck with the appalling nature of the fact, he suddenly exclaimed—"Good God, gentlemen, only think of that, a single draught of water in three days!"

HORRORS OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

"Do a very large number of the slaves die after landing, and before sale?"—"A great many; especially now, from the extreme ill-treatment, and from the putrid gases they have to inhale in the holds of small vessels, where they are jammed up as they lie, and by suddenly relaxing the person, and suddenly carrying them on shore, many of them die. I knew a case in which only ten escaped out of 160. That was a vessel belonging to a friend of mine, who was my agent." "Will you describe how they are packed?"—"It has been described to me (I have never seen it done) that they are laid upon their sides parallel to each other. They are generally boys from ten to twelve years of age; they are put upon their side, and if they do not lie parallel upon their side a plank is put upon them, and a sailor will get upon it and jam them down, so as to make them fit compact. I have never seen that done, but I have heard slaves speak of it; and I have heard captains state it, who I know would have no object in stating it if it were not true. One lies with his arm so as to fit into the next one; he may pull his arm out if he can." "They are not shackled together?"—"Not the little ones." "Are those slaves upon their passage never cleaned out?"—"I fancy not, because if you clean them out, where would you put them? You dare not bring many of them upon the deck, because, seeing the water, many of them would be tempted to jump overboard and even to drink salt water; consequently, all that you have to do is to crowd all sail and get out of the way of the cruisers, and look as quiet and as nasty as you can. I may mention, that it has happened, that on the arrival of a vessel, she has been found in so filthy and destitute a condition, that after unloading her cargo

she has been cast adrift." "You prefer importing boys and girls because they pack closer?" "Yes; they are much less in stowage, much less in volume. Some of the American vessels are about seven to eight feet between the decks; some are only seventy-two inches between the beams. They have generally three tiers, one on the ground and two above." "Do you mean that in the height of seventy-two inches, that is to say six feet, there are three tiers of slaves?" "Generally; the lower ones have a kind of mats made of banana stalks." "You have frequently seen this with your own eyes?" "Yes; anybody may see it in Brazil, but in Rio you would not see it now, because very few are now landed in Rio." "What is the youngest age at which you import the Negro?" "They never brought them so young at any time as they do at present, because the stowage was not so valuable before. The cruisers have made the stowage so valuable." "How young do you bring them now?" "The smaller they are the better you can carry them. I once bought a little chap just like a dolly; he could not, from his teeth, have been more than six, perhaps not so much; he was too small to work." "Are not a great portion of the cruelties and deaths in the course of the slave-trade to be attributed to a want of water?" "Perhaps more from that than anything else, because in the tropics a very little food will support the system; when the system is in a state of torpidity, and when the air is exceedingly foul, the functions of life become very considerably diminished; absorption takes place of any portion of fat they have, and they can resist the want of food for some time, but the want of water is a thing that cannot be resisted." "It is in order to evade the activity of the British cruisers that your people who are engaged in the slave-trade, are obliged to stint the slaves in water?" "Of course." "And that they are also obliged to crowd them into such small spaces?" "It arises probably from that. I do not know whom to blame for that, whether it is the captains, or the agents, or the owners, or whom; but certainly they do bring an immense number in a very small space. I have known 350 brought in a ninety tons schooner." "What do you reckon to be the average voyage from the coast of Africa to Brazil?" "At the present time you are obliged to go in such a zig-zag manner that what ought to be twenty days is sometimes ninety days." "And it is when the voyage is so long that the slaves die?" "Yes. They get a drink of water once a day. In a state of inactivity you may exist upon that for twenty days, perhaps, as I know from my own experience; but not much longer than twenty days, because the system fails rapidly after that. It is too horrible to describe the effect of the want of water; no person can have an idea of it without feeling it." "From what part of the coast of Africa is the general importation?" "I would beg leave to decline saying that, because the moment that is known, your cruisers will be twice as energetic upon that one point, and it will do mischief to some one. I have got to live in the country. Human life is not valued very highly in Brazil. Any person making himself troublesome upon the slave-trade would be immediately shot." "What is the condition of the slaves when they are landed now?" "There are some with more iron constitutions than others; but to see them, they look horrible. The bones of the knees stand out, and look like large knobs; the calf of the leg has disappeared; it looks more like the leg of a monkey than any thing else, and you can count all the bones. The abdomen is very much bloated, and there is an imbecility in the eye; in fact, nature is reduced to the lowest point." "Have you seen them standing against a wall?" "Yes; but you feed them, and put them in warm baths; and by doing that they get round after a little time." "Are they usually covered with sores?" "Yes, when they are jammed together; and there is a species of itch that breaks out upon them, and blotches of a large size break out upon them." "Have you any knowledge what the mortality of slaves employed on a sugar estate is?" "No, I cannot say; but since your cruisers have been on the coast, their systems suffer so much from the shock of coming over, that many of them die; so much so, that there are now no second retailers of slaves as there used to be, because they die so frequently in the first two or three months. I have known thirty leave the coast, and go twenty miles up into the interior, and fifteen have died; and I have known 160 landed, and eighty-four of those have died before they got into the interior." "What was the cause of that?" "They were in such a dilapidated condition, nature was completely overcome by the passage." "Are the slaves that are imported into Brazil sold openly in the market?" "Not exactly; we have not markets for slaves as you have here for different articles; they have been abolished in Rio; but if you go to the neighbourhood of Rio the slaves are sold openly." "Are there barracoons in the same way as there are in Cuba?" "Yes, you may term them barracoons."

PROFITS OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

"Do you consider that the African slave-trade, as at present carried on, is at present a very profitable trade?" "I should say, from what I know of commerce generally, that there is no trade so profitable under the sun at the present time." "Can you state what the average profit of the successful voyage of a slaver is?" "I would decline to answer that question; but 600 per cent is not unusual, and 1,000 per cent has been made; but I cannot enter into any detail of the cost of outfit, and so on;

I would decline that." "Where does the capital chiefly come from?" "I should decline to answer that question." "You have been only two years on the coast?" "I was on the coast in the Government service, and the other time I had better not say any thing about." "Can you say anything of the price at which you purchased slaves?" "In olden time the price on some parts of the coast was two slaves for a musket, and in other parts two muskets for one slave. I made inquiry of a person who imports the guns into Brazil, and he tells me that they cost him 10s. 6d., after allowing him a large profit." "Do the Brazilians universally engage in these speculations?" "As far as they have means; there are some associations by whom the slave-trade is carried on. In 1830 or 1831, when the slave-trade ceased, there were very few slaves to be had at any price. A few vessels started up, mostly owned by very poor people, who purchased old vessels; so that if they lost them, the loss would be small. They became successful, and many who began as poor people are now the most wealthy men that we have in South America. In fact, the present class of slaveholders, or slave-bringers, are the aristocracy, who have risen up between 1830 and the present time." "The slave-traders constitute the aristocracy?" "The aristocracy as regards wealth." "Public opinion is in favour of the slave-trade?" "Yes; there are many honourable men who have made their fortunes; but all those who wish to make their fortunes, or are in circumstances to require it, would enter into the slave-trade, as far as their means admitted of it." "It is not thought dishonourable to be connected with the trade?" "No." "You stated that one slaver brought 1,800 slaves?" "1,750 slaves, she is said to have made three voyages; and a very fine craft she is." "That is not the *Antelope*?" "No, she was in Rio; she had not started when I left. She was built in Liverpool, and was intended to run as a packet-ship; but there is not commerce enough for a packet, and as the slave-trade pays so well, I have no doubt that if they can raise money sufficient she will be sold."

VALUE OF SLAVES.

"You gave me a history of the progress of the slave-trade; will you repeat that to this Committee: you stated, that when this country first adopted the policy of increasing the blockade service, the Brazilian slave traders were very much alarmed?" "We were at that time, because it was supposed that whatever England attempted to do she was able to carry out; but we had not the impudence to suppose that she would not carry it on most efficiently, and therefore the slave-trade died away for a time." "About what year was that?" "1831 and 1832." "What had been the price of slaves before that?" "In 1825 they were worth 200 milreas each. In 1830 I think, but I am not certain; it was the year in which the first treaty with Brazil was made; I bought half a cargo, the last that came in, at 780 milreas each. I had eighty, and a friend of mine had another eighty; but they were paid for on sight, which is not usual with slaves, and that made it fifty milreas less." "Is there credit given generally?" "Yes; when slaves are abundant credit is given of from six to twelve months, to enable the purchasers of those slaves to make a return. If an industrious man, he will buy them, and give bills at twelve months, and eighteen months, and two years, and he will pay those bills by their labour in that time." "In what year did the slave-trade become as flourishing as ever?" "From about 1833 slaves began to get down in price to 600 and 500 milreas, till 1836, when they got down as low as 400." "That would be £32?" "Yes, and in 1837 I bought some myself in the interior at 330 milreas; they were landed at that time at a place called Santos." "In what year was that?" "That would range between the years 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, and 1838. After that your cruisers began to make them rise again in price. They got up till in 1844 they were as high as 800 milreas, and only sold for cash; they were from 800 to 900. In 1844 and 1845 there was no credit; they counted the money out and received it at once." "The slave-trade was at a low pitch at that time?" "It was at that time, but we then discovered that the British cruisers were not so effectual as we had supposed them to be; and then Great Britain made a change by taking the cruisers off the coast of Brazil, and sending them to the coast of Africa." "You have proceeded in your history down to 1844, slaves were from 850 to 900 milreas each." "Since that time they have been gradually getting lower, when I left Rio 400 milreas was considered a fair price. I anticipate that by next May they will be obtained for 350 milreas each, the supply now coming up to the demand."

INCREASE OF THE SLAVE-TRADE IN CONNECTION WITH THE SUGAR DUTIES ACT OF 1846.

"Can you give an estimate of the number of slaves that have been imported into Brazil in the year 1847?" "Yes, according to our belief, but it may not be quite correct, because those who bring the slaves always try to diminish the number, so as to make the price rise if possible, while those who want to buy slaves always report that a great number have arrived; but we suppose that about 72,000 were landed last year, but of that number probably 65,000 only lived to be sold. Between the 14th of November, when I came down to the coast, and the 8th of December, when I left it, to my knowledge 4,010 were invoiced for landing in one little port alone on the coast." "Are you aware of the change of duties

which took place two years ago in this country?"—"Yes, I am aware of it." "Can you give the Committee any information upon the point, whether that change of duties has increased the cultivation of sugar in the Brazils?"—"I should say decidedly it has. I think up to the present time it has been rapidly increasing." "You are not a sugar planter?"—"No. I was inclined to buy, for a son I have, a sugar plantation. Since you have crushed the West India Islands, sugar plantations in Brazil have risen up to a large extent; because if a man has a shilling a day to pay, he cannot compete with men who pay nothing; and the Government of Brazil are now making very extensive establishments on the river M——, between Bahia and J——; they have offered land to anybody who will go and take it; they offered some to me." "To what extent has the cultivation of sugar in Brazil been increased?"—"I am told by those who are conversant with it, that it is rapidly increasing, and no doubt from the means they have of disposing of their sugar, it will increase much more because slaves are getting cheaper." "The sugar is grown so cheaply, that you fed your cattle and your pigs upon the sugar?"—"I did. I am not a regular sugar planter; but I planted sugar in the valley for those purposes." "Are we to understand you, that at the present the cultivation of sugar in Brazil has increased and is increasing very largely?"—"Yes, it is said so; and I know from my own personal knowledge that it is rapidly increasing in some parts of Brazil." "I understand you to say that the slaves have fallen this year in price, but you think the demand for slaves has increased?"—"Undoubtedly: if 4,000 come on Monday, by Saturday night all those who are able to stand or walk about you can sell." "Do you conceive that the increased cultivation of sugar has increased the demand for slaves?"—"I think so, because nine-tenths of the slaves that come go on to the sugar plantations. Coffee is no longer profitable, and the coffee growers do not buy any."

INEFFICIENCY OF THE CRUISERS.

"It being discovered that the British cruisers were not so effectual as had been supposed, Great Britain made a change by taking the cruisers off the coast of Brazil and sending them to the coast of Africa; what happened then?"—"From our understanding the nature of the coast better than the British cruisers did, and from our vessels being better adapted for going up the rivers, the slave-trade was carried on much more extensively." "Then, in fact, the blockade of the coast of Brazil was far more effectual in the suppression of the slave-trade than the blockade of the coast of Africa?"—"I do not think that you could possibly carry into effect that which you were extremely desirous of doing, for the slave-trade will continue to flourish as long as we have any money to pay for slaves." "Do not you conceive that if there was a very close blockade of Brazil we should be able to suppress the slave-trade?"—"If you subsidized the whole of the European navies, you might blockade the whole of Brazil; it is of such an extent that without that you could not do it; 600 or 700 ships would hardly be enough to blockade the coast of Brazil from slavers." "Are you of opinion that any system of cruising, either on the west coast of Africa or on the coast of Brazil, would put down the slave-trade?"—"No, for eighteen years you have been trying and you have not done it yet."—*Par. Pap. No. 123, 1848, pp. 146—149.*

We are unable to give, in the present number of the *Reporter*, the additional evidence which has been laid before the Committee by several witnesses on the extent and horrors of the slave-trade. There was, however, one incident alluded to by Capt. Matson, R.N., which may be considered as the climax of the horrors of the slave traffic. In reply to the question, "What becomes of the slaves that are refused by the slave traders?" he said, "I have heard instances of their being massacred. I was in the river Nun some years ago, when 500 were knocked on the head on the beach." This reminds us of a similar fact recorded in the slave-trade papers of last year, which assert that no less than 2000 refuse slaves at one station had been killed, to avoid the further expense of feeding and keeping them in custody.

In our next number we shall be prepared to show the rapid increase of the slave-trade, in connexion with the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the British markets—a fact now placed beyond all doubt, and which we think, whilst it must deeply afflict the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the country, must tend to arouse them to renewed exertions, to put down this cruel and nefarious traffic.

STATISTICS OF IMMIGRATION INTO THE BRITISH EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

In the *Reporter* for October, 1847, we gave returns of immigrants introduced into the colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, between the years 1835; and, so far as they were received, and 1846, to which we refer our readers; and having now received official reports, bringing the returns up to 1847, we

subjoin them, as giving the most complete account up to the present time.

JAMAICA.—The returns for 1846 give the number introduced as 2,441, but this return is said to be incomplete: for 1847, up to the 30th September, as 2,480. The total number introduced from the 1st August, 1834, up to September, 1847, is 12,276.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The number of immigrants introduced during 1847 is 7,719. The total number introduced from 1835 to to the end of 1847, is 41,741.

TRINIDAD.—The returns for 1847, up to the 30th June, give the number of immigrants introduced as 2,121. The total number introduced from 1839, to 30th June, 1847, inclusive, is 19,909.

STATISTICS RELATING TO SUGAR.

AN ACCOUNT showing the Quantities of SUGAR, the Produce of British Possessions, imported into the United Kingdom in the Years 1845, 1846, and 1847.

	1845.	1846.	1847.
	CWT.	CWT.	CWT.
British West Indies and British Guiana; viz.			
Antigua	209,971	102,644	240,201
Barbadoes	351,486	302,496	469,022
Dominica	57,883	52,700	65,451
Grenada	71,249	76,931	104,952
Jamaica	742,855	572,875	751,416
Montserrat	10,286	5,316	7,657
Nevis	30,858	26,665	41,833
St. Christopher	122,773	90,075	149,096
St. Lucia	71,251	63,562	88,370
St. Vincent	132,673	129,870	175,615
Tobago	62,709	38,822	69,240
Tortola	6,175	6,342	8,285
Trinidad	364,151	353,293	393,537
Demerara	499,102	252,449	522,543
Berbice	120,575	73,307	112,779
	2,853,997	2,147,347	3,199,997
Mauritius	716,173	845,197	1,193,849
British Possessions in the East Indies	1,338,459	1,438,024	1,418,682
Other Parts	361	18	9
TOTAL	4,908,990	4,430,586	5,812,537

FOREIGN SUGARS.

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of FOREIGN UNREFINED SUGAR entered for Home Consumption in the United Kingdom, in the Year 1847.

Imported from countries the produce of which, during the operation of the Act 7 and 8 Vict. c. 28, now repealed, was admitted by Orders in Council to entry for home consumption at the distinctive rates of duty then applicable to sugar not the produce of slave-labour, viz.:	CWT.	CWT.
Java	113,944	
Philippine Islands	63,388	
China	41,790	
Siam	8,724	
British Possessions in the East Indies	6,540	
United States of America	162	
Venezuela	1,928	
New Grenada	765	
		237,241
Imported from other countries or colonies; viz.:		
Brazil	202,411	
Cuba	350,057	
Porto Rico	120,242	
St. Croix	58,808	
St. John	50	
St. Eustatius	1,010	
British Possessions in America	4,002	
Europe	1,102	
Other parts	532	
		738,214
	Cwt.	975,455

SPIRIT OF THE COLONIAL PRESS.

STATE OF JAMAICA.

The following extract from the *Jamaica Despatch* received by the last mail, professes to give a correct analysis of a report which has been laid before the Jamaica House of Assembly, on the present state of the island. Not having that report before us, we are unable to verify the particulars given; but we suspect that when all the facts of the case shall be known, it will be found that a great majority of the estates alleged to have been abandoned, must have been given up long since, even if the abolition of slavery had not taken place. We shall be glad if some friend in Jamaica will forward us a copy of the report alluded to, and any additional information he or his friends may have it in their power to communicate.

"The memorial agreed to by the Assembly of this island at its last session, and transmitted for humble presentation to Her Most Gracious Majesty, is perhaps the most important document that has ever left the colony, embodying as it does the numerous facts proved solemnly before Mr. Barclay's committee. The forms of the house, and the necessary etiquette observed in similar cases, forbid us from laying this document before our readers in its extended form, until it shall have been laid before Her Majesty; but the report of the committee, which forms its leading feature, is a public document, and has already been published.

"The plain facts produced by that report, and now communicated to Her Majesty, may be thus shortly summed up:—

"That since emancipation, 140 sugar estates, containing 168,032 acres of land, then employing in their cultivation 22,553 labourers, and producing 14,178 hogsheads of sugar, and 5,903 puncheons of rum, have been abandoned, and their works broken up.

"That within the same period, a similar fate has attended 465 coffee plantations, containing 188,400 acres of land, and employing in 1832, 26,830 labourers.

"That on 138 sugar estates alluded to in the evidence, the crops during the same period had decreased one-third.

"That on certain estates shown in 1832, to have 41,820 labourers attached to them, there remain now on them only 13,973, the others, amounting to 27,847, having generally become independent settlers.

"That £1,405,887. 14s. 11d. was expended in the production of 57,006 hogsheads of sugar, and 26,711 puncheons of rum; giving this result, that after deducting the proceeds of the rum, averaged at the large sum of £14. per puncheon, the actual cost of producing sugar in this colony is 22s. 7½d. per cwt., so that, at its present value, there is an actual loss of 7s. 7½d. on every cwt., without estimating interest on capital, and on the money expended in cultivation, equal to 4s. 6d. more per cent.; whilst, as regards coffee, the evidence shows it conclusively to be even in a worse condition.

"That, under these circumstances, sugar cannot be produced in Jamaica under a less cost than 27s. per cwt., to give common interest on capital; whilst it is well ascertained that in Cuba 12s. is a remunerating price for sugar there, produced by slavery.

"That, in this state of things, it is self-evident that nothing but protection in the home market can avert the immediate abandonment of sugar and coffee cultivation in the British Colonies. The only alternatives are, 'protection or destruction.'"

DREADFUL STATE OF THE COOLIES IN JAMAICA.

It is high time something were done by the immigration authorities with regard to the wandering and starving Coolies who are to be found at every corner of our streets, borne down by filth and misery. However one may be impressed with the conviction that much of the present wretchedness of these people is due to their own utter worthlessness and indolence, it is impossible not to feel that they are human beings—strangers to our tongue and to our habits, removed for our own purposes some thousands of miles from their own homes; destitute, squalid, starving—without a place to rest their heads, or the commonest necessities of life to support them in their houseless wanderings. Many of them are apparently in such a state of ulceration as to be almost unable to walk, whilst all appear in such a state of abject want, filth, and disease, as to make the heart bleed to look upon. Yet these people are allowed to wander about our city, and herd along our thoroughfares, without the least attempt on the part of the authorities, under whose cognizance the matter comes, to find a remedy for so intolerable a nuisance.

It seems to us that it would be a mercy to these unfortunate people to find shelter for them even in the Penitentiary, if no other means can be found of affording them a home.

A large body of these people presented themselves yesterday at the police office, from an out-parish, to claim admission into the hospital, on the ground that their term of service had expired, and that the party with whom they had been employed has refused to renew an engagement with them. Of course the magistrate had no power to place them in the

hospital; and we presume these people, who at present form a striking contrast in point of health and cleanliness with those to whom we have alluded above, will shortly be added to our present lot of wandering Pariahs. What is to be done with them? Are they to be allowed to die about our streets like dogs? We understand that application was sometime since made to the executive by some of the magistracy of Kingston, to know how these people were to be dealt with; and the reply was, that they were to be treated according to law, as any other "negro or mulatto" would be treated. But these miserable creatures are here under circumstances widely different from those of our ordinary population. There are few to be found about our streets who are not loathsome from disease and fit only to be the inmates of a Lazaretto. It is hopeless to expect to make them serviceable to the country in any shape. To send them as vagrants to the penitentiary for thirty days would remove them for a time from the public streets, but the expiration of their imprisonment would throw them back upon the public as homeless and as destitute as ever.

Could not something be done to send these people back to their country? We must do so eventually. It was anticipated that an annual payment by the employer would relieve the colony from this charge. So far as these people are concerned, however, that seems impossible. It really would be a charity to the unfortunate beings, and a source of relief to those of our city who have the commonest feelings of humanity, were we to anticipate our future obligations, and return these miserable creatures to their homes.—*Jamaica Despatch*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—CAPITAL, NOT PROTECTION, REQUIRED.

We are advised by the *Spectator* and other friends of the West India interest to bestir ourselves, and be incessant in our applications to the Government,—to load the table of the House of Commons with petitions and the bureau of the colonial minister with suggestions for relief. The plan is commendable. There never yet was any great question settled satisfactorily to the movers of it, until it had undergone a process of indefatigable agitation. But, although by this means we may remove the restrictions which fetter us at this moment,—although we may obtain free trade in labour and a wider market on better terms for our produce,—it is within the colony that the battle for existence must be fought. These concessions will but ease us a little, they cannot save us. We are now awakened from the strong delusion which has for years been hurrying us onward to the condition in which we find ourselves. We have been trading without capital, on a pernicious system of credit. It has entered into every transaction of our lives,—it has ruinously influenced every operation upon estates. The facility with which money or its equivalent, credit, could be obtained, led to a system of extravagant and careless expenditure—an utter regardlessness of the judicious application of labour, which could not result in anything but ruin. We may grumble, we may hope, we may petition. But, unless we apply ourselves determinately to the task of *making capital within the colony*; unless we adopt a rigid system of economy, and reduce the cost of production by the proper and judicious application of the means we have, we shall never recover by factitious aid from the state of prostration into which we are now sunk.

The colonial bankers say that the Colony will be irretrievably ruined unless Great Britain retraces the policy of last year and grants us protection. It is a bold thing to differ from such an authority, but we think differently. We believe that even protection would not save the majority of estates; and that ere long those encumbered with mortgages, which have been bought and carried on with borrowed capital, will sink under the low price which is now certain to prevail for some time at home under the alteration of the laws. But we have every confidence that real capital may yet be as safely and as profitably invested here as in any colony over which the British flag flies. We mean no disrespect to planters, but we maintain that estates in this colony have not hitherto been managed with that prudent and economical attention which will now be forced upon everybody. A knowledge of plantership has been supposed to come by nature. And a rude, wasteful system has been perpetuated from the sheer ignorance occasioned by a defective education. This has been an eminent cause of the present distress.—*Guiana Times*, Feb. 15.

THE ICE-HOUSE OF GEORGE-TOWN.

Mining operations in the esplanade in front of the public buildings, commenced a few days ago, are exciting considerable public attention, and a good deal of grumbling comment. "Is this a time," it is asked, "to pay away ten thousand dollars of the taxes of a ruined colony on such a luxury as an ice-house?"

Such an apparent waste of the revenues, derived from the tax-payer, offers a practical contradiction to the cry of distress raised by the planter, and will tend, more than their own necessities, to keep the labouring part of the population true to their passive resistance to a reduction of wages. It is in vain you tell them that the sugar which twelve months ago was worth twenty, is only now worth ten pounds, while the cost of production

is the same; and that, as a necessary consequence, you cannot afford to continue the same rate of wages. The negro sees that you can afford an ice-house. And everything connected with ice is in his mind associated with expensive and luxurious living; he believes that in the matter of wages, and in the price of sugar, you deceive him; for you are providing for perpetuating what is only now a source of casual expenditure, and it is impossible you could think of such a thing if the representations made to him were strictly true. At this moment the eyes of the labouring population are intensely fixed upon the doings of all in authority; and every apparent inconsistency is taken by them as an argument for an obstinate adherence to old prices of labour.

To ourselves and to all in the city, an ice house is likely to be a positive advantage; but we should have paid for it, and not have iniquitously mulcted the general tax payer for a thing which, beyond Georgetown, can benefit no one. Remonstrance and regret are now however alike vain, and the subject only worth noticing to show that the abuse of power will sometimes re-act upon those who abuse it. The control of the public monies has been for years *confided*, or more properly speaking, been entirely and exclusively *assumed* by one class; and this is not the first time the general tax-payer has been made to pay for that which can only be partially beneficial. The legislature has voted for and will get its ice-house. But the members dependent upon plantations may rest assured that the erection will afford the labouring consumer of taxable commodities argument for a severe retaliation.—*Guiana Times*, Feb. 8th.

The following correspondence from the British colonies addressed to the Secretary, in addition to that found in another place, will be found interesting.

LETTER FROM A CORRESPONDENT DATED GEORGETOWN, DEMERARA, JANUARY 18, 1848, ON THE STATE OF THE IMMIGRANTS, AND THE POLLY OF INCREASED EMIGRATION.

I feel the force and importance of your letter, and observe in the *Reporter*, which also came at the same time, your memorial to the Government. All that can be done effectually must be done at home. Here we are as powerless as infants. All acknowledge the evils of immigration, and yet seem to cling to it as if it were all important. Every one cries out at the expensiveness of Coolie and other immigration, and yet Coolie immigration is going on, as we are expecting 14 vessels of Coolies within 3 months or 4 from hence. It seems absolutely of no use to stem the torrent; the West Indians seem to have it all their own way, and you in England must effect the great work; and really inspiring is the hope that once more a stirring course is proposed to act on the mind of the British nation. Still when I look at that nation, and consider the events of a few years, and look at the apathy which fondness for sugar has induced, as relates to the suffering, tormented, dying "Indian and negro and rude barbarian,"—a gloomy hopelessness insensibly steals across the mind, and determines the man to stand still, and see what salvation God may work; when Providence is just and retributive, as well as corrective. The present is certainly the most trying period that has come over this country. Plenty of work, no money. Plenty of produce, no purchasers. Plenty of people, no employment. Plenty of distress, no help. Almost everything at a stand still. The madness of pushing on immigration under these circumstances, appears astonishing even to those who are engaged in it. Like insane people, they speak without coherence; you scarcely know their minds, nor they their own. You would think them at one moment thorough Anti-Slavery men, and at the next eager to be engaged in the traffic on the Kroo coast. Now they complain of the ruinous expenditure, and now they would plunge us deeper and still deeper into the vortex. Mortality here is found to be worse than ever it was conceived to be. Dr. Bunyon, who was appointed Commissioner by the Governor to see after the estate's hospitals, (you know what they are,) has given a Report, which, by reason of its revelations, may perhaps be prudently kept secret. But it has got abroad that the greater portion of the many thousands of Madeirans have fallen a sacrifice to the acclimatizing process. A greater mortality than even then among the vast importations of Coolies, who are accounted worse than worthless, after all the abominable waste of public money, and oppression on the traduced people's means to raise it. As to all the other tribes of immigrants from almost every nation under heaven, nobody thinks to ask, where are they; and were they to ask, no voice but echoes could reply, and it would answer "Where?"

You ask if Creoles have not been compelled to leave their accustomed estates for the Coolies' sake? Proverbially so. I know an estate where besides the working people, those who had spent their life, and wasted all their strength to decrepitude and old age, were obliged, turned on the public road to beg for food and lodging. I knew of another, whom I used to think humane as a master of freemen, whatever he had been over slaves, who boasted of his intention to turn every negro off his estate, when he should be able to replace them with Madeirans or with Coolies. It was partially done, until the sick multiplied sufficiently to induce caution as to further procedure:—here, however, the error was apparently seen, and except for the sake of lowering wages, would not soon be repeated.

Interest would be sure to work its influence,—human nature is every where the same, and cannot be trusted.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT DATED BROWNSTOWN, JAMAICA, JAN. 7, 1848, ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF IMMIGRATION.

I almost despaired of any effort, with the least hope of success, being attempted to check the new immigration scheme; but your letter, the articles in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and those in the *Leeds Mercury* (which has been kindly forwarded to me), have thoroughly cheered me, and lead me to cherish the expectation that, if the commencement of the evil cannot be prevented, we may hope to check its progress.

You will know before this that our House of Assembly has voted £15,000 for this year, for immigration purposes; and I doubt not but £50,000 will be voted for next year, if access to the coast of Africa be freely permitted, unless the bubble bursts before the House next sits.

I intend going down to Falmouth with your letter to-morrow, on purpose to consult with the missionaries on the best course to pursue, and I shall then have an opportunity of attending and addressing a public meeting in the Court House on the subject.

In a fortnight there will be a meeting of the Baptist Western Union. I shall (p.v.) bring it forward then, and be able to arrange for a series of public meetings; so that, by next packet and the following, you may expect to hear from me and others as to what we are doing, with memorials and petitions, for presentation to the Government and Parliament.

I need not implore you to do all you can to knock this abominable system on the head. If carried out, the effects will be ruinous; draining us of our little money, introducing new vices, at a time when iniquity abounds, beyond our power to resist; driving the emancipated out of the labour market; reviving the abominations of the apprenticeship, and for no good purpose whatever; not a hundred hogsheads of sugar more will be made by the introduction of a thousand Africans; while the cruelties and wrongs inflicted upon Africa will be beyond conception. And if the manufacture of sugar will not pay at the present rate of wages, how can it be made to pay when the extra expenses connected with immigration have to be borne?

We shall do what we can now that we know you are willing and ready to help us; otherwise our efforts would be useless.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE BAPTIST WESTERN UNION.

At a meeting of the Baptist Western Union, held at Port Maria, on Monday, the 7th inst., the following Resolutions were unanimously passed.

This Board having read and carefully considered a Memorial presented to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, by Delegates of the several West India Dependencies, praying Her Majesty's Government to provide the means for conveying into the three colonies,—viz. Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, a large number of African labourers, together with the reply of Lord Grey thereto.

It was resolved,

I. "That it is the firm conviction of the members of this board, founded on an extensive knowledge of the chief agricultural districts of the colony, that, with scarcely an exception, the supply of labour is at all times equal to the demand, and is in many parishes very much in excess. That where complaints of a deficiency of labour exist those complaints can almost invariably be traced either to the unsettled rate, or non-punctual payment of wages; or to the character of, or frequent change in, the manager of the property.

II. "That this Board regards it as an act of great injustice that the expense of providing labourers for the cultivation of private properties should be made to fall upon the public treasury, and thus by consequence, chiefly upon the labourer, who is thus compelled to pay to lessen the demand for, and to cheapen his own labour. That it is a flagrant aggravation of this wrong that it is inflicted at a time of great depression in the commerce and revenue of the island, and when the most strenuous advocates of all previous immigration schemes admit them to be disastrous failures, and openly state that the present is but a doubtful remedy for the evils of which they complain.

III. "That the results of all immigration, since the year eighteen hundred and thirty-two, compel this Board to protest in the strongest terms against any further attempts to supply the West India labour market from foreign countries. Most of the immigrants brought here have been enticed from their homes by the most flattering and fallacious promises; when landed they have been disappointed in their expectation respecting wages, homes, food, and medical attendance. Most of those from England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Madeira, and India, have died within a year or two of their arrival, while those who remain are, with a few exceptions, either paupers or beggars. The lavish expenditure of more than £200,000 for immigration purposes has greatly embarrassed the finances of the colony, while all parties, with the exception of the paid officials, have received positive injury from the different schemes

that have been resorted to for the purpose of increasing the number of the labouring population.

IV. "That as all testimony on the subject goes to prove that African labourers can only be obtained by purchase or bribery, this Board can regard the plan proposed in the despatch of Lord Grey to obtain immigrants from the Kroo coast as only and really a renewal, on the part of England, of the infamous traffic in human beings, and feels fully convinced that should the proposed plan be carried out, all the well-known horrors of the interior slave-trade will be aggravated and extended.

V. "That we disclaim any thing like factious opposition to the agricultural or commercial sections of the community. In their present difficulties we deeply sympathize—our interests are mutually dependent, and we express our readiness to yield them any assistance in our power to shut out from the British market all slave-grown produce, and pledge ourselves as the instructors of many thousands of the peasantry, to continue to exhort them to habits of industry and honesty, and to a faithful performance of every engagement into which they may enter with their employers.

VI. "This Board, in conclusion, would earnestly call upon the friends of religion and humanity throughout the island, to unite in holding meetings, and in adopting petitions and memorials to the Home Government, with a view of putting a stop to any further importation of immigrants into this colony: feeling assured, as it does, that the time has come when all measures not tending to good, but to the poverty and immorality of the land, should be strenuously, and in all constitutional ways, opposed."

That a copy of the above Resolutions be printed in the *Messenger* newspaper, and forwarded to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in London, for insertion in the *Reporter*.

The immigration question was then fully discussed, and the present scheme, in common with every other which has preceded it, unanimously condemned, as fraught with disappointment to the planters, injustice to the native labourers, and inhuman cruelty to the friendless strangers, whom it throws upon our shores to perish of want and disease.

W. MILNE, Secretary.

REFINED SUGARS, &c., THE PRODUCE OF FREE LABOUR.

FREDERIC WHEELER respectfully informs the Anti-Slavery Public that he has deposited, by permission of the Anti-Slavery Society, at their Offices, 27, New Broad Street, London, for inspection, and for the supply of consumers to a limited extent, First-class REFINED SUGAR in lumps of about 27 lbs. each, at 7d per lb.; and likewise MOLASSES, the most delicate preparation, known in the trade by the term "GOLDEN SYRUP," in tins of about 7 lbs. 14 lbs., and 30 lbs. each, at 5d. per lb., the tins (not returnable) being charged at the makers' prices, namely, 9d., 1s., and 1s. 6d. each. The above named goods are all certified by the written declarations of refiners of the highest respectability to be made entirely of Free-labour materials. Any applications from persons in the Trade should be addressed to FREDERIC WHEELER, Stroud, Rochester.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 1st, 1848.

The proceedings of the Sugar and Coffee planting Committee have been pushed on with great vigor, and are now nearly brought to a close. Another week will probably bring its report, and then we shall know what are the measures it will recommend to Parliament for the relief of the sugar-growers in the East and West Indies. It is not, of course, possible to anticipate with any degree of certainty the final decision of the Committee; but we have every reason to believe, that an attempt will be made to secure protection for a period of ten years at least, of ten pounds per ton, to the British planters; that immigration from Africa will be recommended on a large scale, under contracts of from three to five years; and that stringent legislation will be suggested to enforce contracts, repress vagrancy, and prevent squatting on crown lands. Other measures of minor importance will, no doubt, engage the attention of the Committee, and probably form part of their report, such as a relaxation of the navigation laws in favour of West India commerce, a more equitable mode of levying the duty on sugars, and the propriety of allowing British plantation sugar, in any form, to be refined in bond.

If our anticipations are correct, the utmost efforts of the Anti-slavery body will be required both at home and in the colonies, to prevent the scheme of African immigration into the emancipated colonies from being realized, as it will assuredly lead to a new form of slave-trading, and increase the internal traffic in Africa, to supply its victims. Though an immense effort has been made in the Committee, to obtain evidence that "free labourers" can be

obtained in abundance from Africa, it has signally failed to record a single reliable fact on that point. Opinions have been recorded in abundance, but no facts; yet there is the utmost danger that the Committee will recommend it, as a grand panacea for West India distress. Already are the partizans of slavery in Cuba taking steps to secure Africans in a similar way. It is reported that a Society has been formed in Cuba for importing of 24,000 Africans, as free labourers, upon the same principle as that advocated by Lord Grey, and the great body of the West India planters. Now, it must be quite clear, that any number of Africans imported into Cuba, whatever name might be given to them, would certainly merge into the slave population; and, we have no doubt that companies will shortly be formed in Brazil for the same purpose, and a more effectual way of evading the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, could not be devised. We trust the Government will pause before they commit themselves further in the matter of African immigration.

Nor must our friends be less on the alert to defeat any new attempt at coercive legislation for the colonies. Already the bow has been bent almost to breaking; and the emancipated labourers begin to feel that they have little to expect from the Government. What with the system of implied contracts, courts of appeal from the decisions of the special magistrates, and the severe penalties which can be inflicted on them, for offences of every kind, under existing laws, they suspect that their rulers are more intent on growing sugar, than in protecting their liberties and advancing the general welfare. The system of taxation under which they groan is most oppressive and partial in its operation. Knowing, as we do, that when once they lose their confidence in the justice of the Government, it will be difficult to restore it, we have deprecated the course which has been taken; and we venture to say, that, if there be any further attempts to restrict the just rights of the people, and to impose fresh burdens upon them, for the benefit of their planters, such attempts will be resisted and defeated. A system of conciliation, founded upon an enlightened self-interest, will be found infinitely more successful in its results, than a dogged adherence to the old principle of slave-domination and planter-rule.

No man, whatever may be his political opinions, can regard the marvellous events which are taking place on the Continent of Europe, with other feelings than those of the profoundest interest; and no philanthropist certainly can observe them without the most ardent wishes that their issues may advance the true liberties, the happiness, and the civilization of their fellow-men. Amidst the labours and excitements consequent on the great revolution which has just been accomplished in France, we are delighted to find that one of the earliest acts of the Provisional Government was to decree the abolition of slavery in all the French Colonies and Dependencies abroad. This was nobly done; and we trust will be peacefully realized. The decree which terminates this brutal and impious system, and which is soon to have the force of law, is as follows:—

"FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

"The Provisional Government of the Republic, considering that no French land can any longer bear slaves,

"Decrees,—A Commission is appointed at the Provisional Ministry of the Marine and Colonies, to prepare, as quickly as possible, THE ACT OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION IN ALL THE COLONIES OF THE REPUBLIC.

"The Minister of Marine will provide for the execution of the present decree.

"Paris, March 4th, 1848.

F. ARAGO."

"The Provisional Minister of the Marine and Colonies decrees, "The Committee, instituted by the decree of the Provisional Government, to prepare the Act for the Emancipation of the Slaves in the Colonies of the Republic, shall be composed of the citizens—

VICTOR SCHOELCHER, President;

MESTRO, Director of the Colonies;

PERRINON, Mayor of the Marine Artillery;

GATINE, Advocate for the Council;

GAUMONT, Operative Clock Maker;

Citizen WALLER and Citizen PERCIN, Secretaries to Commission.

"Paris, March 4th, 1848.

F. ARAGO."

The Commission which has been appointed to draft the act of

emancipation, has for its president M. Victor Schoelcher, a gentleman who, for many years past, has laboured indefatigably and honourably, in the cause of human freedom. Not content with studying the question in France, and earnestly advocating the cause of suffering and oppressed humanity, he has visited the French colonies, that he might witness with his own eyes the system which he had so long laboured to destroy. There he learned to regard it with a deeper hatred than ever; and since his return to France has maintained an incessant warfare with it and its avowed champions. Availing himself of the press as the means of enlightening his countrymen on the great question of emancipation, he has been indefatigable in his exertions, and has faithfully done his duty. His most recent work, "The History of the two last years of Slavery," is a master-piece of reasoning, based on facts which admit neither of palliation nor doubt. He now occupies the position which his talents, his knowledge, and his philanthropy eminently qualify him to fill; and we have no doubt but that he will discharge its obligation in such a manner as to win the respect of every reasonable man in the colonies, and add to his present high reputation as the disinterested and zealous friend of the slave. In Arago, the Provisional Chief of Marine and Colonies, he has a leader not less decided in his hatred of oppression, than he is distinguished by his learning and science; and in M. Gatine, an accomplished advocate, he has a coadjutor every way worthy of himself; and though we have not the pleasure of an acquaintance with the other members of the commission, we have no doubt they will show themselves as much entitled to public respect, as they evidently are of the minister's private confidence.

It will be recollected that the treasurer of this society, Mr. G. W. Alexander, accompanied by Mr. Joseph Sturge, lately visited Paris on a mission of peace. On that occasion, having expressed their wishes for the complete abolition of slavery, the provisional member for foreign affairs, M. Lamartine, replied:—

"We should have believed that we had gained a selfish liberty, a guilty liberty, if we had maintained the benefits of it for ourselves alone. We therefore hastened to proclaim liberty of all our brethren, and we congratulate ourselves on being, in this respect, in harmony with the noble sentiments of England, which a long time ago freed the black race in her colonies. As soon as the National Assembly shall meet, it will proclaim the principles which we ourselves proclaimed after our glorious revolution. We have only one question reserved, that of the indemnity to be paid."

The agent of the Government was despatched to the colonies by the second mail in March, we may therefore soon expect intelligence of his arrival in them, and of the reception he has met with from the planters. For their sakes we earnestly hope, that they will throw no difficulties in the way of this functionary, but aid him in the great object of his mission. They have now the opportunity, by the generous exercise of their power, to attach the negroes to themselves, and of showing their respect for their mother country.

The coloured population resident in Paris, of whom there are a considerable number, have waited by deputation on the Provisional Government to express their gratitude for the great measure of emancipation. They were well received by M. Cremieux, who, in an eloquent address, said: "The new Republic will accomplish what the Republic in 1792 proclaimed. You shall again become free. There shall no longer be a slave on the soil of liberty. In our colonies, as well as in continental France, every man who inhabits the land shall be free." These declarations were received with loud acclamations.

The impulse given to human freedom in France is already felt elsewhere. A letter from Presburg of the 26th ult., speaks of "the peaceable revolution which has been effected in Hungary. The power of the conservative aristocracy is broken; and all the rights and duties of feudal servitude have been abolished by a decree of the diet sitting at Pesth." Another communication says, "The Hungarian Diet unanimously voted, on the 18th of March, the immediate abolition of forced labour, without any compensation being required from the peasantry. Commissioners were instantly despatched from Presburg to announce that resolution to the peasants, who were on the point of raising the standard of revolt." The *Presse*, after stating that the announcement of an insurrection at Cracow is confirmed, adds, "that all feudal and seignorial rights are abolished in Austria, and that the lines of custom-houses between the different provinces are suppressed." The time of deliverance for the serfs in Northern Europe appears to have arrived. How unfeignedly we

rejoice in this, we can find no language to describe. To see in so many directions the suffering slave and the oppressed serf raised to the dignity of freemen is matter for devout thankfulness. May the nations now rejoicing in the recovery, or in the extension of their liberties, prosper for this act of justice to the hitherto depressed and degraded portions of humanity!

Russia, we trust, will not remain behind in the noble work of emancipation. There are symptoms of progress even in that land of despots and slaves. Previously to the great outbreaks which have convulsed so large a portion of Europe, we find by the *Frankfort Gazette*, that "an imperial ukase was issued on the 20th of February last, which permits the present serfs throughout Russia to purchase the property of their masters when sold by public auction. By such purchase, they acquire all the rights attached to the property." This is a very important movement in the right direction; and, we trust, may be regarded as a prelude to a complete measure for rescuing them from the power of their haughty lords.

It will be seen, from the following document, that our German friends have laid the foundation of a great anti-slavery movement in their fatherland. We rejoice to hail them as our coadjutors in this holy cause. In the United States there is a large body of German people who are sound in their principles, and as earnest in the cause of abolition as any men can be; they will welcome with delight the formation of a German Anti-Slavery Society. We would also state, that we are encouraged to hope, that the large body of free German emigrants who are finding their way into Texas, will ultimately exert their political and social influence so effectually, as to overthrow slavery in that state.

FORMATION OF A GERMAN SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

PROSPECTUS OF THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.

"Convinced of the necessity of using our utmost efforts for the abolition of slavery, as the most dreadful injury ever inflicted upon man, and the source of unutterable misery to millions of our fellow-creatures;

"Persuaded that the present is a good opportunity for the German people to unite with other nations in endeavouring to exterminate this high-treason against the human race;

"Impressed moreover with a conviction of the duty of compensating such Germans who are the possessors of slaves, for the loss they would sustain by abolition;

"And having been repeatedly called by friends in the United States to assist in opposing the system of slavery which exists there;

"We, the undersigned, have constituted ourselves into a Provisional Committee, for the organization of a German Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and have resolved, from this time forth, to take all such steps as may be necessary for accomplishing the desired end.

(Signed)

GAGERN, (Minister of State.)

C. WELCKER, (Professor.)

C. F. HEYDER, (Banker.)

DR. F. W. CAROVÉ.

DR. H. KUNZEL.

DR. J. W. WOLF.

M. BECK.

F. HAAS.

G. FISCHER."

"Darmstadt, January 23, 1848."

In connexion with the issue of this prospectus, is an eloquent address to the German people, which we regret we cannot insert in the *Reporter* of this month; but which we hope to present to our readers in our next.

The great European movement, which we have here chronicled, will, we trust, operate beneficially in the United States, and, indeed, in every country where the foul institution of slavery prevails. We regret, however, to be compelled to say, that whilst the Senate has ratified the Treaty of peace with Mexico, which will put the Republic in possession of an immense territory in addition to Texas, the House of Representatives has rejected the Wilmot Proviso, which was intended to exclude slavery from any territory which might hereafter be added to the Union; and, to their disgrace be it spoken, many of the former supporters of the proviso have belied their principles, and voted against it. The Republicans of America will stink in the nostrils of the friends of enlightened freedom and humanity throughout the world; and, sooner or later, will have to pay a heavy penalty for their utter disregard of the principles of righteousness and their atrocious oppression of the African race.

ANTI-IMMIGRATION MEETING IN PALMOUTH, JAMAICA.

On Thursday, the 20th day of January last, at Twelve o'clock, the time fixed for the meeting to commence, the Court House, which had been kindly granted for the purpose by Samuel Magnus, Esq., senior magistrate of the Parish, was filled to overflowing, and many were unable to get admittance. On the platform we perceived the Rev. Messrs. Blyth, Pickton, Henderson, Clark of Brown's Town, Gay, Anderson of Belvue, and Messrs. Clayden, Vine, and Rodgers.

On the motion of the Rev. Mr. Henderson, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Clark, George Lyons, Esq. was called to the Chair. The Court House being incapable of holding the multitude, the Chairman proposed that the meeting should adjourn to the Baptist Chapel, which was accordingly done. The vast assembly being seated in that commodious place, Mr. Lyons resumed the chair, and spoke as follows:—He said he was glad to see so large an assembly of labourers, men who valued character and liberty, and respected the rights of property. He was deeply sorry at his being absent from the country for some months; sorry, for his own sake, and for theirs—because during that interval, a meeting had been held, at which certain resolutions were adopted by one party, without consulting the people. This was not the correct way of going to work. There should be unanimity. The cry of ruin, ruin, had been continuously uttered. Had he been there he would have expressed his feelings on the occasion. If planters want to know about their estates, let them go to England. He learned more about Jamaica in England than ever he had done here. He had had conversations with individuals there connected with this island, and all of them publicly admitted the injustice of taxing labourers, to carry out the Government scheme of immigration. The scheme proposed by the British Government referred not alone to the proprietors of Trelawny, but to THEM, as the tillers of the soil; the interests of both were inseparably bound up together. And the sum of £15,000 was to be raised this year from the community. And yet they tell us we are ruined. If we are ruined, we must starve! as well as the additional immigrants to be imported. Let us be fed first, before we talk of sending for them. He would point out one or two things that struck him, why immigration from Africa should not be allowed. There was a great deal of ignorance in reference to the Kroo Coast. Even suppose immigration wanted, which I do not admit, the whole of the Kroo Coast would not supply a quarter of those said to be required. The Kroo character was bad, and they would be far from benefiting the people of this country. They were heathens—their habits were Pagan—and what would be the consequences of bringing them here? He said they could not become Christians, for it was death if they did so. Again, the men only were to leave their country; their wives and children remained behind as a guarantee that they should return after a certain period. He said the interest of the merchant was bound up with that of the agriculturist, that is, with the people. Government had appointed an agent at Sierra Leone, one who was to have under agents within the limits of the Kroo country, these agents were to get so much per head for every immigrant they sent to the West Indies. It was out of the power of Government to prevent the chiefs from selling captives. They cannot have immigration without extending the miseries of the slave trade. No Krooman, without the consent of his headman, can leave his country. This consent must be purchased or bribed in some way or other. None but men will be allowed to come. And suppose a thousand characters of this description come to Trelawny, what will the consequences be to your wives and children? The question is, do we, or do we not, want these people? [The people here, with one voice, cried out, "No."] Does the country require labourers? [The like reply was made.] There was plenty of labour. The planters may cry out about high wages, but could you get one shilling per day all the year round, would you be satisfied? [All here unanimously said "Yes."] He was glad to see the general feeling coincide with his own. This meeting was regarded, he would not say, with a malignant feeling, but with a jealous eye. As the meeting was now opened, he would be happy to listen to any speaker, who had resolutions to submit.

The Rev. Mr. Pickton was then called upon to move the first resolution.

1. "That this meeting has read with pain a memorial from certain gentlemen connected with properties in this island to the Home Government, and a reply thereto from Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies, on African immigration. From these documents, it appears, that there is still a determination to obtain, at the expense of the colony, a large addition to the labouring population. That this meeting greatly regrets, that in the present depressed state of the island, such a course should be persisted in, especially after the repeated failure of former schemes; and would further express its conviction that there is a sufficiency of available labour to meet the exigencies and secure the prosperity of the island, and that if in some cases it cannot be obtained, the evil is more local than general, and arises much more from the inability of the estates to make punctual payments, than from unwillingness on the part of the labourers to be engaged."

He offered no apology for being first, had he consulted his own

feelings, he would have addressed them at a later period of the meeting. A document, he said, had been sent home from certain proprietors of this country; that memorial had been presented to the British Government, and an answer had been received. They requested the English to pay the cost of immigration—they said no; pay it yourselves. They then said, the colonies, the entire population should pay for it. That would be a queer law which would cause the whole community to provide mules for estates, but to compel the people to pay for immigration would be equally unjust. The resolution, he said, left out one principal thing, the sheer injustice of the scheme. Even if the prosperity of the country depended upon it, it could not be justified. In itself it was wrong, although he admitted the depression of the country was an additional reason against it. The island finances are embarrassed, but does the enormous expenditure of the country look like it? Jamaica was ruined long before the slave trade was abolished, and when freedom came, all hope was then taken away! Since then the taxes had been DOUBLED. It was exceedingly strange that the more a country is ruined, the more taxes it can raise. Would you not think it strange if our worthy chairman were to cry that he was ruined, and we were to see him driving instead of two horses, a carriage and four? The taxes have been just doubled, and for what? For the various schemes of emigration.

For 1843.....	£8,667	8	0
1844.....	10,804	4	6
1845.....	11,145	15	8
1846.....	28,331	10	10
1847.....	42,295	0	3½
	£101,244	0	3½ or

an average of £23,248. 16s. 0d. per annum.

When such sums are expended, do you think the country is ruined? Do not think that I say the country can afford it. It cannot. You don't understand how you are made to pay for immigration; it does not appear on your tax papers. Since freedom, immigration had cost every man, woman, and child in the country, the sum of 10s. He had no objection to taxation for the public good; but why should the people be taxed to promote what would undersell them in the labour market? Why were all the people brought hither at the public expense? How many hogsheads of sugar have they made? He believed the whole of them, Irish, Scotch, and Madeira, were manuring our soil, and surely we can get labour cheaper than this; they who have clamoured most for immigration, have done it for the purpose of fingering the public money. One individual in Demerara, holding a high official station, has been receiving not less than £2000 a year by his connection with the scheme. African immigration will utterly fail. What course do the Africans pursue when here? Few remain on the estates. They love continuous labour less than you; they retire to the mountains, and cultivate their provision grounds. There was labour enough in the country, and where there was a local deficiency, he could account for the want of it. Small estates will have a difficulty in procuring labour, where large ones are near. Labourers would go where they could get work all the week. An overseer said to him that he could not procure labour. Another (and he had it in his own hand-writing) that he could get as much as he liked at 1s. per day. And there was reason for it. Plenty of labour can be got where the people are treated with civility, and hard money given instead of hard words. The gentlemen who presented the memorial to the English Government affirm, that there is no want of industry among the people, and that the wages are not too high—only the labour is not enough. They say they lose on every hogshead of sugar, and yet they want to make more. He knew some who were in difficulties, and that immense crops had every where been raised during the year, and these, with the prevalent commercial distress at home, had run down prices to the lowest point. But immigration would neither raise the one nor extricate them from the other.

The Rev. Mr. Henderson in seconding the resolution, said, that in coming there he had no design to speak. He came rather as a hearer, and to receive rather than to give advice, but he embraced the opportunity of stating his convictions, which he would do in a few sentences. They were all one as to the object sought, and that was the good of the colony. He believes it wrong for one party to abuse another. All were sincere. The question was not what immigration would do for the colony, No. The question was—WHAT HAD IT DONE? Had it proved a blessing? Had it really promoted public and private interests? Had it sent home more sugar? Had it brought more capital into the colony? Where are the immigrants imported from Ireland, Scotland, Germany, and the far East? Had the working of the system done honour to the legislative prudence of our rulers? He wished to give no offence, but it was his conviction, that it had proved a failure, and like all other failures, had been followed by disastrous consequences, loss of influence, of character, and life. The grand lesson taught us was, that none but native constitutions can stand the sun, and soil, and labour of Jamaica. One thing was certain, that immigration is but a temporary expedient, and cannot supply the lack of native service. It appeared to him that home immigration might be carried out on a small scale, and with

advantage. The parishes badly off for labour might be supplied from those where a superabundance existed, such as Vere, Manchester, &c. He thought there was one thing which should not be overlooked, the increase of the native population; within a comparatively short space of time, it might be doubled. Some plan should be adopted for maturing the children of the peasantry. Were desertions prevented, and parents properly to attend to their children, the population would rapidly increase. No amendment being offered, the resolution was put to the meeting, and unanimously passed.

Rev. J. E. Henderson, in moving the second resolution, which is as follows:—

II. That while this meeting would utterly disclaim anything like factious opposition to the plans of others, who profess to have the interest of the colony at heart, and would avow an equal interest in the common weal, we feel yet bound to give a firm and decided opposition to African immigration, for the following reasons:—1. Because of the enormous expense attending it, and the injustice of that expense, or any part of it being borne by the labouring population. 2. Because of its demoralizing tendency, as taught by past experience. 3. Because of the grievous wrong suffered by those who are brought hither from time to time, uncared for, to perish in a land of strangers. 4. Because of its tendency to revive and perpetuate African slavery. 5. Because it is esteemed, even among many of its advocates, to be at the best, but a doubtful remedy for the evil to which it is applied."

Said—That it had been stated, two weeks ago, by a paper published in that town, that the missionaries had completely lost their influence over the peasantry, and that were a meeting now to be got up, they would not be able to muster more than a handful; the present meeting, numbering, as he should suppose, not less than three thousand persons, gave the lie direct to the assertion. He perfectly agreed with the remarks already made, that abusive language should not be indulged in; but he would ever regret that a Baptist missionary should call the British people a "set of hollow-hearted hypocrites," as had been reported. He utterly disclaimed all sympathy with such a sentiment: the British were a noble people. Their conduct demanded the admiration of the world: their generosity was worthy of universal imitation. He most deeply regretted, that one of the Baptist missionaries should have linked himself with such a man as Peter Borthwick, a man who was paid to oppose Mr. Knibb at home by pro-slavery partizans, and to uphold oppression here. He has been encouraged to insult the memory of Mr. Knibb, in the Baptist Chapel, East Queen-street, Kingston.—The Rev. gentleman went on to say, that he offered no factious opposition to those who had the real good of the country at heart. He opposed immigration, because it was fraught with evil. He knew they were constantly charged with opposing the planters; but he appealed to the people, if he had not often urged them to give a fair day's work for a fair day's wages, and to be faithful in the discharge of their duty? The interests of all were bound up together. Planters, merchants, people, all were mutually dependent; all must suffer together. How had the meeting at the court-house been got up? The people knew nothing at all of the matter, and yet the petition for African immigration sent by that meeting purported to come from the inhabitants of Trelawny. He hoped that meeting would sign a petition to the British House of Commons, not by sixes or by tens, but by thousands, that they want no immigration at all. Selfishness runs through every interest in the island. We are cursed through it. Planters, merchants, have their own interests—and the labourers the same. We want to feel that our interests are bound up together—full confidence felt by labourer and master—and then will come Jamaica's prosperity. The thanks of the country would be due to him who could show how it could be restored. Immigration had taught them a lesson that the master would, if he could, do altogether without them. Was this wise? was it prudent? Suppose the people were to say, Sir, you have imported Coolies, and put your hands into our pockets to pay the expense: the crop is ready, send for these people to put your mill about. We do not advise this. Never retaliate. I hope you have learned the meaning of the divine precept, not to render evil for evil. I hope you will never return injury for injury. The planters have ever to thank the missionaries for enlightening the minds of the people. He spoke in reference to the whole island. He said immigration was not wanted. There was a sufficiency of labour to cultivate all the estates in the island. This could not be contradicted. The planters, in their memorial, had said, that the people were industrious, and the wages not too high. They had found this out at last, but they seem afraid that the work will kill you. They have not enough of hands. He had different conversations with planters, who asserted that they always had a sufficiency of labour, and therefore he charged them with inconsistency, in sanctioning the court-house meeting and petition. He asked one of them, do you want labour? Oh no, I have got enough. It is not I that want it. He put the question to another, and another—to many. The same reply was made—oh, I do not want any more. From private conversations with them, he learned that they have labour enough. Where, in Trelawny, he would ask, are immigrants wanted? What do they mean by the cry? He had heard of no district where there was a scarcity of labour, except in one parish, St. Mary's, which, in crop time,

is badly off. But why not encourage home immigration? Is that not better than African? In some parishes—Vere, for instance—the people are only getting 4d. per day. Why not obtain a supply from that quarter? He believed the thing might be done. At times they say they want labour in this parish. Let them go back into the interior, by Cool Spring, and other places, and they would see many people settled down, living in wretched huts, driven away, by ill treatment, from the estates, beyond the means of grace, and of education?—and ten years behind the people here, in knowledge and civilization. Why not advise them to come back? But suppose immigration were needed: that properties could not go on without it. The country cannot afford it. It is overburthened with taxation, which must be reduced. This is certainly not the time to spend £15,000. If planters required it let them pay for it themselves. Let them individualize the thing, and it would appear ridiculous. But it would not be enough for the planters to pay for them, they must give a pledge that when they are ~~near~~ they would take care of them, and treat them well in sickness as well as in health. Suppose all he said was untrue, yet he would meet the advocate of immigration on another ground. If the Government sanction the African immigration scheme, she will do much to aggravate the horrors of the slave-trade. And after all that our Wilberforces and Knibbs have done, and after £20,000,000 of money has been spent, has it come to this? He would not call the British "hollow hearted hypocrites." It was not a fit epithet to apply to so noble a nation. They have been misled by the West Indian body, but they will see their error. The Rev. gentleman then alluded to an examination of certain gentlemen before the House of Commons; the answers to the queries put being given on oath, to prove that immigration could not be carried on as proposed without returning to the slave trade. He told the assembly to weigh well what had been said, and urged them to sign the petition by thousands, as the House of Commons would not treat it as the Assembly had done.

Mr. Clayden, in seconding the resolution, said, he could only recapitulate what they had already heard. They met there with no factious intention. Their (the people's) interests were mixed up with those of other classes. Were the cultivation of the common staples of the country abandoned, they would go back in temporal prosperity, in intelligence, and religion. Merchants would leave the country, and missionaries would follow. It would be foolish to oppose any measure that would really promote the interests of the country. The planters were long told that Coolie immigration would fail; and yet they would not give it up until it involved them in heavy expenses, amounting this year in all to £159,000, or for each man, woman, and child, 12s. For instance, it has cost a husband and wife, with six children, no less a sum than £4. 16s. for immigration, and more must be spent. The Coolies must be sent home, who is to pay for this? The country to be sure; and thus a double expense has been incurred! We cannot tell the demoralization which this system has brought upon the country. He knew parties afraid to go to church for fear of Coolies breaking into their houses, and thus the Sabbath was profaned. Look at their superstition. Again and again had they been seen roasting goats alive, as a sacrifice to their gods. Does this not tend to blunt the moral feelings, and to degrade the character of all who hold intercourse with them, as well as to undermine the labours of missionaries? Who can look upon the Coolies and not weep? Their blood had moistened the land. Who can wonder that ruin should overtake the island, when the sufferings of these victims cry to God for vengeance? He then alluded to the proposed Kroo immigration, and said, that it would be a revival of slavery. Each Krooman must be purchased from his head man, and his family left behind as hostages for his return. This was no doubtful scheme, its failure was a certainty. If a merchant had received one, two, three, four, five cargoes, would he not know whether these cargoes had paid him before he ordered a sixth? They had tried English, Irish, Scotch, and German immigration; all of which had failed, and was it not certain that this would fail also? He would oppose the system on the broad principle, that it was unjust for the many to be taxed for the benefit of the few. It was unjust to tax the poor to make the rich richer, and the weak, weaker. If proprietors can only afford to keep one book-keeper or attorney, let them dismiss the rest; and if they cannot afford to keep one, let them come here and manage their properties themselves. He said his friend Mr. Henderson was labouring under a mistake, in reference to the people who had left Coldspring and Maldon district. Instead of being ten years behind others, those who had left the estates were the best of the whole, the worst remained on the estates, and he believed this would be found a general rule. If the estates be given up, let the people become small farmers; let them rent ten or fifteen acres each, and have a central factory, and then it would be seen what has never yet been realized in Jamaica, that sugar will be made cheaper here than it is by slave-labour in Cuba.

The Rev. George Blyth in moving the third resolution, which is as follows:—

III. "That this meeting is impressed with the injustice of slave grown produce being introduced into the British market, and respectfully but

earnestly entreats the legislators of Great Britain to protect both the proprietors and labourers of the free colonies against slave competition, by the peaceable enforcement of treaties against the slave-trade, already entered into, by interdicting trade and intercourse with slave-dealers, and such further measures as may effectually suppress the trade in human beings, and the depopulation of Africa."

Said—it had been stated that he had agreed with the petition for immigration sent from this place, and that he had consented to the necessity for immigration. This was wholly incorrect; and he took that opportunity of publicly stating, that he never did so. In principle it was unjust, that a whole community should be taxed for the benefit of a few. Simple justice was ground enough to oppose this scheme. He attended the former meeting at the court house in this town. He thought that meeting respectable for talent and intelligence, but it was very small. He then opposed immigration, and in Committee he opposed it, although he stood alone. He never signed that petition. The natural tendency of immigration he believed was to reduce wages—they were already too low. In some districts they were as low as 1s., 9d., 6d., and even 4½d. He had unquestionable authority for these statements, and he would oppose the scheme, if for nothing else, than that it would reduce the wages. Besides, he said the Coolies were a nuisance; and it was enough to bear a nuisance without being taxed for it. He had written the sub-agent, respecting an orphan Coolie in his neighbourhood, destitute and growing up in ignorance, and had been told in reply, that the parish was obliged to furnish support. He regretted that those who waited upon Her Majesty's ministers had agitated the question: it had been a delusion hitherto, only a straw for drowning men to catch at, only mirage in the desert, tantalising the traveller's thirst, and ever receding as he approached. The Kroomen were most reluctant to come to Jamaica. They have an antipathy against it. They say, Jamaica "not good." But whilst he would oppose immigration, he thought he could shew them a more excellent way. Let planters and proprietors aim a blow at slavery. Let them unite in putting it down, and they would thereby benefit themselves, by causing a ruinous competition to cease. Let slave grown produce be prevented from entering the British market, and this island would be restored to prosperity. Let us get immigrants from the island, instead of getting them from Africa. Let labour be more equally distributed. It had been advised that estates should be broken up into small parts. He did not think that plan would answer. We have all an interest in the welfare of the country, planter, merchant, labourer, and even the rector himself.

The Rev. John Clark, in seconding the resolution said, it had been remarked that the greatest glory of Britain was her abolition of slavery. Her fame had gone over the world, and the nations gazed upon her with admiration. He could not but regret that the British Government, not the British people, had agreed to introduce slave grown produce, the same as free. Great Britain should have altogether refused to have received it: it is stolen property; the produce of stolen labour, wrested from stolen men; and its introduction had been to the injury of both the British planter, and labourer. Let us petition the House of Commons and Her Majesty's Government, to enforce the treaties between Spain and the Brazils, to abolish the slave-trade in Africa, and then we shall cultivate sugar at as cheap a rate, as either the one or the other. How is this to be done? Coercion had been the means used hitherto. He held that to be inexpedient and wrong. Let Britain resolve as long as Cuba, and the Brazils continue to cultivate slave grown sugar, not to allow one hoghead of it to be landed on her shores. This has been the first of a series of meetings, and he hoped, that it would not be the last. Let us raise loud our voices against the scheme, and let it reach the ears of the people of England. They wish not to have access to the Kroo coast alone, but to other parts of Africa, and thus to re-establish the slave-trade. The anti-slavery party at home, will defend your interests as they did before. Great cruelties would be renewed and entailed on Africa. Should Lord Grey refuse to hear your petition, there was a higher power to which you can go. May God prevent the carrying out of the wicked system, and that all parties in Jamaica may prosper.

The Rev. Mr. Gay in moving the fourth resolution, which is as follows:—

IV. "That while this meeting would urge upon the advocates of immigration, the thoughtful reconsideration of the subject in all its bearings, it would also urge upon the labouring population the importance of being faithful to their engagements; industrious in their habits, and firmly resolved for their own sakes, for the sake of their children, and for the enslaved myriads around them, to contribute as much as in them lies, to the prosperity of the island."

Said—this was no one-sided Resolution; it called upon master and labourer to be just to each other. He would urge this upon both parties. Immigration required to be reconsidered. The scheme is one fraught with many evils, and he trusted its progress would be arrested. Look at the graves of numbers who have left their homes, and perished here without a word of kindred sympathy, and as if heaven smiled not upon their last resting place, the rain washed them again into view. He went on in accordance with his resolution, to urge the people to be faithful to their engagements, to perform their contracts even when these turned out to

be unprofitable, and that they had no right to leave their employers until these were completed. Some did not work half their time. He had no doubt that many remained too long upon their hoes; God observed and noticed them. He urged them to be upright, honest and diligent, and not to be too independent and capricious. Liberty may be mistaken. We are all bound together by social ties. He would urge them for the sake of their character, and their souls which were immortal, and for the sake of their children, to be conscientious in their conduct. Each must contribute to the welfare of the country. He loved the man that loved his country. He hated the idea of boasting about the transference of our allegiance.

The motion was seconded by Mr. P. J. Lillie.

On motion of the Rev. J. E. Henderson, seconded by Mr. Clayden, a petition to the Imperial Parliament was unanimously adopted.

The chairman then made some appropriate remarks in which he explained the manner in which taxes were paid for immigration, and the folly and the consequences of transferring our allegiance to America. A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the chairman, and after singing two verses of the Queen's anthem, the multitude quietly separated.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT ON THE STATE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

Georgetown, Demerara, 4th February, 1848.

SIR,—Being well aware that you feel a deep interest in the affairs and well-being of the inhabitants of this province, I will offer no other reason or apology for thus addressing you. You are, I doubt not, already informed that the monetary crisis in England, together with the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the English markets, has led to great distress in this colony—distress, I am sorry to say, which is all but universal, from which the most sanguine see no hope of escaping—for which we cannot expect that even time itself will yield a remedy; the great question being, "can we make sugar at a profit without protection against the competition of that article produced by slave-labour?" All men of experience in this colony answer this question in the negative; expectation of protection is entertained by very few, and our case appears desperate. Meantime, a struggle on the subject of wages has been now for some weeks going on between the planters and labourers; the former proposing a reduction of wages from one guilder or one-third of a dollar, to twenty-five cents or one quarter dollar the task; the latter, in most cases, stoutly refusing the work for less than the old rates. Self-interest, or necessity, or both, must, in a few weeks, make one or other side yield, the consequences however to the best interests of the colony, in the interim, are most melancholy, most deplorable. I regret much to inform you that the passions of the labouring population are greatly excited, many Megastologies, and some few dwelling houses, have been burned, doubtless by incendiaries; and in a recent case, Plu Zorg, the proprietor, Mr. Bishop, has been violently assaulted, for which it is more than probable some of the ignorant and exasperated peasantry will be severely punished. This state of things you, sir, will deplore, the more so when I inform you it is the honest conviction of the best friends of the peasantry in this country, that this disorganization is the natural and inevitable result of the kind of *no government* which has existed so long in this colony. When Governor Light arrived in this province the confidence of the labouring population in persons holding official situations was unbounded, the influence of the stipendiary magistracy with the peasantry almost unlimited! and justly so, for then the humblest labourer might depend upon obtaining a patient hearing of his complaint, and a rigid investigation into its merits; this equitable and desirable state of things has entirely changed; confidence in officials has given place to universal distrust and general dislike; the peasant no longer feels confidence even in our courts of justice; and the influence once so beneficially possessed by the stipendiaries has long since ceased to exist. To those who, like myself, live in the colony, and watch the conduct of government, these lamentable changes are not surprising; on the contrary, unrepresented, unprotected, and often very ill treated as the peasantry undoubtedly are, their patience and forbearance appears wonderful. I beg to call your attention to a proclamation issued by Governor Light, on the 19th of January, (see *Royal Gazette* 22nd,) sent herewith, not with the expectation of exciting admiration of the document, which is a miserable unenglish affair, but to allude to some of its assertions and inuendoes. It assumes that the incendiary fires are raised by Creole labourers, whereas the general belief and great probability is, that they are the handy work of the outcasts of society from the islands, persons turned out of the jails of all the neighbouring colonies, and brought here at various times as immigrants, for the special benefit of the planter, and the expense of whose introduction was paid for by the native peasantry, by heavy taxes on the necessities of life. Governor Light, in this proclamation, asks, "What they have to complain of? What grievances remain unredressed? What irregularities in the laws, or in the administration of them, afford reasonable ground of

murmuring?" When he signed this document he well knew that neither of the local newspapers dare answer those queries, or point out any of the many heavy grievances inflicted on our peasantry. You are aware, sir, that the mass of the inhabitants of this province are totally unrepresented in that court, or body of individuals, who make laws for, and rule this colony. The legislature of British Guiana, thanks to the absentee proxy votes, is composed of planters exclusively, really and truly self-elected; whose aim appears for a long period to have been, to enact such laws as would coerce and bear down the labouring classes, leaving them as little practical freedom as possible; and, sir, this view of the case is strongly corroborated by the fact, that the late government secretary, Sir Henry E. F. Young, promised that the inhabitants should have the right of appeal from all summary convictions; but, when the new, or reformed laws as they were called, made their appearance, this right was limited to cases where the party accused was fined the large sum of *twenty dollars*! Thus a magistrate may fine an obnoxious individual nineteen and a half dollars and there is no appeal! In Barbadoes, any person may appeal from a summary conviction, even if the fine inflicted is only *one dollar*. The cry for cheap labour by the planter appears but reasonable; the response by the peasantry for cheap food is at least equally reasonable and equitable, but unattainable because the planter-legislature takes care to tax the necessities of life exorbitantly, and most unjustly; and at the same time introduces such clauses into our Annual Tax Ordinance as are calculated to check the growth of provisions in the colony, and has already checked, to a great extent, the supply of esculents for the use of the city of Georgetown, by the heavily rated licenses imposed. Under the wretched state of mis-government and great oppression, which the labouring population has so long suffered, to ask "What they have to complain of?" is nothing less than a heartless mockery, an unfeeling taunt addressed by a man incapable of entertaining a generous or honourable sentiment, and addressed to a people, well fed it is true, but politically enslaved. It would require ability far beyond my humble powers and space, even beyond any you could yield, to set forth a tithe of the ills tolerated and inflicted on the people by the local government. The poor man's batteaux is indispensably necessary to enable him to reach his humble cottage, near which, in many cases, no public road exists; to use a batteaux he must pay for a license, varying according to size, from two to four dollars! Our rulers are now crying out ruin; they declare they cannot cultivate sugar, and must abandon their estates; and now, at this present time, in front of the public buildings on the site of the old market, the foundation of an ICE HOUSE is being laid; the contract for its erection was given to Mr. Forrester, the sum of ten thousand dollars was voted last session of the combined court for this luxury for the rich, to pay for which luxury will consume the tax on five thousand of the small sized batteaux belonging to the poor labourer. Fearful of being deemed prolix, or of wearying you, I will only allude to one more cause of injustice to the peasantry,—one which appears to me must lead to most disastrous consequences,—the present state of the stipendiary bench in this colony. In many districts the stipendiary magistrate has become quite creolised; long residence in one district or locality has led to hospitalities, intimacies, and friendships between them and the neighbouring planters, not at all calculated to secure the confidence of the poor man. The champagne drank at the hospitable board of the planter, on Sunday, is not calculated to purify, or to induce the confidence of the labourer in the decision of Monday, when the late host is either plaintiff or defendant; the consequence is, that in some districts the stipendiary is now viewed by the peasantry with distrust and abhorrence; and, sir, judging of recent appointments to the stipendiary bench, by Governor Light, there is much cause to apprehend even a worse state of affairs on this subject than now exists. Patrick Norton was lately appointed a stipendiary magistrate; his claim consists in being the brother of a recent judge in this colony; and having relations in Athlone, Ireland, who exert themselves in favour of certain candidates at elections. Education, or other qualities to fit him for the office, no person pretends that he possesses—but he is now Patrick Norton, Esq., a stipendiary magistrate. The last appointment made to this situation is a Mr. Beamish, an agreeable, gentlemanly young man. Mr. Beamish came to this colony some six or seven years ago, quite a stripling; he became an overseer on an estate; in process of time he seems to have learned the planters' business, became a manager, and married the daughter of Creswell Spencer, Esq., formerly a respectable planter. Mr. Beamish has been a planter, and nothing else, ever since his arrival in this colony; as such he was, and must have been, during the whole period in a state of antagonism towards the labouring population. Judge, then, sir, whether the education and information thus acquired could, by any possibility, fit him for the important duties of a stipendiary magistrate; whether it could be expected that the labouring people who have known him as a planter for so many years, can be expected to place confidence in him, as their protector against oppression, as their champion in defence of right against might.

I am, &c.

John Scoble, Esq.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT, ON THE LATE AFFRAY IN GRENADA.

Grenada, January 21st, 1848.

DEAR SIR,—The several numbers of the Grenada papers, which I send herewith, will inform you of some of the doings in this place since the beginning of the past month. I would, in the first place, direct your attention to an address of the Lieutenant Governor, to the plantation labourers, which the stipendiary magistrates were required, by His Excellency, to read and explain. The address, as might be well imagined, was not very savoury, as the curtailment of men's incomes is seldom so. On his visiting River Saltee Estate, for the purpose of reading and enforcing the address, most of the labourers were absent, *it being holiday time*, and the superintendent, that is, the head black man, the manager's confidential man, was sent for to gather the labourers, and to be present during the ceremony; but, before he could obey the mandate of the stipe, he ran about and collected and penned the cattle, to prevent their destroying the canes in his absence; he soon after appeared before the magistrate, covered over with perspiration from the effects of his race to gather the stock; he was soon accosted by the stipe, with a want of respect for him in not having treated him with courtesy, for which the man endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying he was engaged in conversation on his coming up, which prevented his noticing his due obeisance,—he denied having been so engaged, charged him with drunkenness and scoundrelism; the man felt indignant at this gratuitous attack upon him, and replied that, "if he said that he was drunk, he told a story." This reply was deemed rebellious, and demonstrative of opposition to the constituted authorities, &c. &c.; and on the man, the superintendent of the estate, the confidential servant of the proprietor, being required to repair before *the same stipe* to be tried and punished for this offence, most of the labourers on the estate followed him to the courthouse. The other cases, and the alleged riot, &c., you will gather from the papers.

The stipendiary having read the riot act, because of the clamour of the many women, who formed a large majority of the number of the labourers present, and several special constables having been sworn in, who caused the labourers to "run down the hill like so many sheep," as was exultingly stated to me by one of the Santeur folks; the stipendiary mounted his horse, and proceeded, *without molestation*, to the rectory of St. John, where His Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, has been located for several weeks past, and distant about fifteen miles from Santeurs. His representation of this "violent outbreak"!! induced His Excellency to send off an officer, with despatches, and sixty soldiers were embarked in a few hours after, during the night, for Santeurs, where they reached early next morning (Wednesday) and where some of them still remain.

The Lieutenant Governor, in consequence of what had passed, addressed circulars to the planters, requesting them to allow a certain number of their more intelligent labourers to attend to hear an address from him, which was done. There were about 250 labourers present, and perhaps fifty proprietors and attorneys. After an address by the Governor, the Rev. Mr. Power, who had been deputed to explain it to the people, called upon any present to state any grievance they might have, to the Governor. One of the labourers commenced to remonstrate respecting the reduction of their wages, and to question the power of any to compel him to take 8d. per day. His Excellency immediately bowed to Mr. Power, and said, that it was not his purpose to hold any discussion with the people! I observed to the attorney general, in the presence of His Excellency, that His Excellency had not said enough, that the labourers would conceive themselves commanded to work at the proposed rate of wages, and that His Excellency should inform them of the alternative, *viz*:—if they were not content with the wages, that they would be required to leave the property. I also stated that he had no control over the arrangements between masters and servants, and that the impression on the minds of the people would be, that it was illegal and improper. The attorney general replied, "You know that it would be exceedingly inconvenient for the estates to part with their labourers at this season; it would not, therefore, be proper to make any allusion to their leaving the estates!"

I am informed that several labourers have been fined from £2 to £4 each.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—March 24th.

SLAVE-TRADE—COAST OF AFRICA.

Mr. BAILLIE said—The government sought to solve all the difficulties connected with this question by the magic name of a committee; but it was for the house to dispel the delusion which had so long prevailed in the country as to the slave-trade, and to let it be known that all the valuable lives which had been sacrificed, and all the treasure that had been squandered, so far from attaining the object in view, had positively augmented the horrors of the slave-trade. Our squadron on the African coast had proved totally unavailing; and it was the opinion of eminent

naval authorities that the whole navy of England would not be sufficient to keep up an effective blockade on a coast of 6,000 miles extent. He should show that the slave-trade, so far from being suppressed, had increased, and that the supply of slaves to the markets of Cuba and Brazil had been quite equal to the demand, notwithstanding all our attempts to prevent it. As far as he could ascertain from parliamentary returns, the total amount of money spent by this country between 1808 and 1847, was £49,905,705, including the £20,000,000 paid to the West India planters. Now with regard to the loss of life, Sir F. Buxton had stated the increase at 25 per cent., but he believed it was at least 33 per cent. Mr. Cliff had estimated the loss of life on the passage at one-third, and that was also the calculation of the merchants at Havana. If the trade had remained perfectly free he did not think that Cuba and the Brazils could absorb greater numbers. (Hear, hear.) So much with regard to the question up to 1840. From that time up to 1846 it would be shown that the number of slaves imported depended on the demand for their produce in the markets of Europe. It had been said by the noble lord, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that only 3,000 slaves were imported in 1846. That might be true, because at that time a great blow had been struck at the slave-trade by the measure of the late government, which admitted free-labour sugar into the markets of this country. (Hear, hear.) The house of Drake and Co., of Havana, had petitioned the Spanish government, in consequence of that measure, for a total extinction of the slave-trade in Cuba. They said that the English market being thrown open to free-labour sugar would compensate them for any loss that might be incurred. It was in consequence of this measure, and not from any increased activity on the part of the British squadron, that the diminution in the number of slaves imported in 1846 was to be attributed. He believed it was a maxim at the Custom-house that no smuggling on which a profit of 33 per cent. was realised could be put a stop to. But the profits of the slave-trade were vastly more than that. He would read to the house a statement of those profits. The price of slaves on the coast of Africa was £4 per head. If the number of slaves amounted to 536, that would give a sum of £2,224. The amount of freight was £4,000, and the cost of water, rice, &c., £637. The price of a slave in Brazil was £50; now supposing that only 371 of the 536 were landed alive, that would give £18,550, or a net profit, after deducting the expenses, of £11,689, which was equal to 200 per cent. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman quoted several statements of a similar character. All the accounts lately received had shown that a great impulse had been given to the slave-trade by the measure of the present government. (Hear, hear.) The governor of Sierra Leone himself, in a letter dated October 1, 1847, stated that, notwithstanding the extreme vigilance of Her Majesty's squadron, the traffic in slaves was more vigorous than ever. (Hear, hear.) Sir Thomas Herbert gave similar testimony. Was it to be endured then that the government should keep up a squadron at a vast expense to the country for the suppression of the slave-trade whilst they passed a measure which tended directly to encourage it? (Hear, hear.) They must do one of two things—revoke their measure or call back their squadron. (Hear, hear.) He held in his hand a statement of the deaths of officers and seamen and of those who had been invalided in the year 1845. It appeared from this statement that the entire charges for the squadron in that year amounted to £106,454 (hear, hear); 259 deaths of officers and men had taken place, and 271 had been invalided, making a total of 530. If this did not move the house, he called upon them as guardians of the public purse to vote his motion. To the sum of £706,454 was to be added the expense of their establishments on the coast of Africa, at Sierra Leone, Fernando Po, and Cape Coast Castle, the courts, the commissions, and the expense of maintaining the negroes who were taken, which would make a total of £1,200,000 paid yearly by this country for a purpose which had proved worse than useless. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman concluded by moving "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to give directions that negotiations be entered into with foreign powers to relieve this country from the engagement under which it labours of maintaining a squadron upon the coast of Africa."

Mr. HUMPHREYS seconded the motion, and urged that nothing could stop the slave-trade whilst profits remained as great as they were at present. He contended that we were aggravating the horrors of the slave-trade, and that we ought not to be ashamed to retrace our steps. He dissented, however, from the hon. member in thinking that we could use any measures of coercion to suppress the slave-trade. It was no use our attempting to drag on the whole world. But there was a course open to us—that of giving encouragement to free-labour, in every sense of that term; and if that system of labour were only made cheap our benevolent intentions respecting the slave, he felt assured, would have infinitely greater success than at present. All our consuls were agreed that the present system was ineffectual, and unless it were put an end to he could never anticipate a termination to the existing slave traffic.

After a short pause,

Mr. G. THOMPSON said that, abhorring the slave-trade, he could not hold it to be right to inflict so heavy a burden as that imposed on this country since 1808, in order to put down the African slave-trade. He was pretty well acquainted with Sierra Leone and the system in operation there, and he could safely declare that that and like places had been the hot-beds of fraud and chicanery—places full of men who profited by the humanity of this country to carry on covertly and by fraud the very system they were paid to suppress. He had every confidence that free labour was entirely able to compete successfully with slave-labour. He was therefore disposed to confine his efforts to the great object of suppressing the slave-trade by the encouragement of free-labour.

Mr. HUNT, as chairman of the committee to which the house had devolved the whole of this most serious and important question, wished to remark that they would scarcely be acting a wise or a prudent part if they were to pass an opinion upon any one particular portion of it, as proposed upon this occasion.

Mr. MOWATT, having made up his mind to support this motion, wished to explain why he had done so, lest he might be charged with being friendly to the slave-trade. After the clear statement the hon. member had made, and in the absence of all explanation, he saw no other conclusion at which an unbiassed mind could arrive, except that the system had entirely failed. (Hear.)

Viscount PALMERSTON did not dispute that this was a subject deserving most attentive consideration at all times, and which might very properly

be brought forward when a vote for supply was demanded. But, on the other hand, considering that the whole of the subject was referred, not long ago, to the examination of a select committee, he did not think the hon. member had exercised a sound discretion in now bringing the subject forward. If the hon. member thought he had anything to prove, the select committee was open to him before which to prove it. (Hear, hear.) But let him not be understood on this occasion as admitting the facts which the hon. member had affirmed. This was not the season to enter on their consideration. The house must remember that those means for the suppression of the slave-trade were the result of no slight consideration. They had been framed in consequence of anxious wishes expressed in petitions by the country, and of anxious consideration of those petitions on the part of former parliaments. It was said that they had tried the system for thirty years, and that it was proved to have failed. But he denied that they had tried it for thirty years in any manner likely to be effective. Until the year 1839 the slave-trade was to a great extent free from molestation; and therefore, up to that time at least, it was not right to say that the system, in any degree, had had a fair trial. If it were said, however, that it failed since 1839, he begged leave to express doubts as to the accuracy of that conclusion. Now, people ran away with the idea, and the assertion passed from mouth to mouth, that the means taken to put down the traffic greatly aggravated its horrors. He (Lord Palmerston) denied this conclusion. Was there anything in the present day equal to the horrors of the middle passage in former times? (Hear.) And upon either principle they might feel assured that these horrors were exaggerated. The slave-trader's interest was diametrically opposed to any such cruelties as those described. The more slaves he landed safely and in good health the greater his profits; and therefore if any such cruelties existed as those described they might merely be attributed to the blindness of avarice, which would operate equally whether we pursued the existing system of prevention or entirely abandoned it. However, this was not the proper time to go fully into this great question. His objection at this time was that the whole subject had been referred to a select committee that was now sitting, and that therefore this motion was premature. (Cheers.)

Mr. DISRAELI objected to the proposal made by the noble lord to refer such questions as were before the house to any select committee. They were matters for the consideration of the house, and not for a select committee. The cabinet ought to determine upon them. What could be urged in defence of the expenditure of £1,000,000 a year, in addition to the £80,000,000 that had been wasted during the last thirty years? The noble lord had said nothing whatever to shake his faith in the statements of his (Mr. Disraeli's) hon. friend.

Sir T. D. AGLAND objected to any change in so important a portion of our policy as our maritime police for the suppression of the slave-trade without due and careful consideration.

Lord J. RUSSELL wished to address a few observations to the house, not upon the general question as to the efficacy of our system for putting down slavery and the slave-trade, but upon the particular question as it stood at that moment. He would venture to submit to the house that, for more than twenty years, under different administrations, they had carried on the present system; and, in carrying it on, had spent eighty millions for the suppression of slavery. Suppose, then, that a *prima facie* case could be made out against the system, could any thing be more reasonable than that the house should wait for the report of the committee of inquiry they had appointed, and not hastily decide the question on a night devoted to the army estimates, and when many members must have thought that no such question would come on? (Hear, hear.) He thought there could be no doubt, even in the minds of those who contended for the non-success of our measures on the coast, that a large portion of Africa had been relieved from the slave-trade, and that legitimate commerce had been extensively established in its place. Surely, then, even if the policy were objected to, it would not be humane at once to withdraw our squadron from those parts, and to expose them anew to all the horrors of the slave-trade. (Hear, hear.)

Sir R. PEEL said that seeing an inquiry was going on, in which the opinions of those engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade would be elicited, and all the facts connected with the subject brought out, he should decline stating any opinion he might have formed, founded on the information which had reached him, and would postpone his judgment until the report of the committee should be produced, and the whole evidence should be before the house. (Hear.)

Mr. BOUVERIE said the whole question was, whether the policy was right or wrong. The motion might have been inopportune introduced, but being before the house, he must vote for it. He could not consent to vote the public money for purposes unconnected with the government of the country.

The house divided—for the original motion 216

For Mr. Baillie's amendment 80—136

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—The slave case brought to the notice of the House of Representatives a few weeks since, by Mr. Giddings, has terminated better than was anticipated. By the well-timed efforts, we learn, of Mr. Duff Green, Henry was brought back to the city, and Messrs. Giddings and McIlvaine, in the course of some twenty or thirty minutes, raised among the members of the House, \$180, the balance of the sum required for the redemption of the poor man; so that he is now in the full enjoyment of his freedom.

The correspondent of the *National Era*, at Baltimore, in the course of his communication, says:—"One fact respecting the workings of slavery, through the merciless laws enacted for its protection. Here it is, in the very words of a legislative report in one of our daily papers, which has certainly never made itself liable to the suspicion of over-colouring such facts:—'By Mr. Martin: A petition from residents

of Bladensburg, praying that a certain *free man* of colour be permitted to visit his sick mother!" Such are some of thy requirements, thou Monster Wrong, at the hands of even freemen! Thus thou wouldst dam up the very fountains of natural affection, or poison them with bitterest ingredients of cruelty!"

REPORT ON SLAVERY, BY THE SYNOD OF WEST TENNESSEE.—The argument of this report, which was unanimously adopted at their session is in substance as follows:—

- (1.) Our members hold slaves, we admit, quite extensively.
- (2.) They say they do it conscientiously, from benevolent motives, and with a religious desire to do all things to the glory of God.
- (3.) We are bound to believe them.
- (4.) The intention alone gives to an act its moral character.

This argument plainly assumes that whatever a man does, if he only affirms that he conscientiously does it for the good of his fellows, and for the glory of God, we are bound to believe him, and pronounce him a good man, without bestowing a glance at the character of the act itself. What a license is here given, perhaps unintentionally, but after all, really given to the commission of every possible crime. According to the formula suggested by this report, the vilest adulterer, the bloodiest murderer, the wretch who is guilty of all imaginable wickedness, has but to proclaim the purity of his intention, and, though his transgressions have been as scarlet, they shall be white as snow. Such a doctrine, on the lips of an advocate, would prejudice the cause of his client, even with the most worldly jury. Such a doctrine, as the grave and solemn announcement of a large and influential ecclesiastical body, fills us, if not with astonishment, yet with unspeakable grief. When will the church use the engine of truth for the pulling down of strong-holds of iniquity, instead of daubing with untempered mortar, to strengthen the blood-stained bastille of American slavery.—*American Missionary.*

SYNOD OF INDIANA ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.—This Synod met at Indianapolis. Thirty-nine ministers and fifteen elders were present. By appointment of the Synod, Rev. John M. Dickey preached on the subject of slavery. The following resolutions were passed:—

- "1. That the ministers of the Synod be requested to preach to their respective charges on the subject of slavery during the present year.
- "2. That the next General Assembly be requested to advise the lower judicatories to take such judicious and firm measures as will free our churches from all participation in the sin of slaveholding.
- "3. That it is our opinion, that if something of this kind is not done at the meeting of the Assembly, a very serious evil will result to the prosperity of the churches in our State, and also generally in the West.
- "4. That a committee be appointed to attend each of the Synods in Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, to ascertain their feelings, and secure concert of action on this subject."

A committee was appointed to carry out the action contemplated in the fourth resolution, and the Synod adjourned, to meet at Crawfordsville, the second Thursday of October, 1848.

INDIANA CONFERENCE.—The Free Protestant Methodist Church, at its second Annual Conference, held in Indiana on the 5th of October, adopted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Conference, slavery, under all circumstances, is a moral evil and a sin against God, who hath taught us "to do unto all men as we would have them do unto us."

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—The following is an extract from a letter recently received in this city from respectable sources at Rio Janeiro:—

"Here there is nothing particularly new, things jogging on much the same as when you left us. The slave-trade is brisk. The recent orders which the Consul has received, to grant sailing certificates to any American vessel which may be sold here to American citizens, whatever the destination may be, have given a great impetus to it."

We are very sorry to learn this. If orders have been given to the American Consul, of so very general a nature as is here said, it is the very method to encourage, to protect, to pamper, in fact, the slave-trade. Let us see how, then, this is managed.

It is desired to fit out a vessel for a slave expedition from Rio. An American is found unprincipled enough to lend his name—the same name will serve for a hundred transactions of the kind—and there is no dishonest stratagem by which money is to be made, which cannot, on taking a little pains, find a fitting agent. The vessel is sold to the American, and the consul gives a certificate of nationality. The Portuguese captain, a veteran perhaps in the slave-trade, accustomed to skulk along the African coast, is put on board and sails with American colours. On the sea the vessel is American or Portuguese, as may serve its turn; it comes back with a cargo of slaves, and lands them on the Brazilian coast as a Portuguese ship. Thus our flag, the certificate of our consul, and the American name, are abused to the most atrocious of purposes.—*Evening Post. (U. S.)*

A number of coloured persons, both free and slave, were arrested in New Orleans on Sunday, the 8th. ult., for the crime of assembling to

worship God! A New Orleans paper mentions as an evidence of their criminality, that one of them had a Bible and three prayer books.

KENTUCKY.—Slavery in Kentucky appears to be doomed. A third or fourth attempt to repeal the law which prohibits the importation of slaves into that State, so far as to allow their importation for use, but not for sale, was on the 29th defeated in the Senate, by a vote of 19 to 17. The people have once voted in favour of calling a convention, and a bill has passed the Legislature now in session, again submitting the question for their final determination. At first the opposition was strong; but the vote already taken has put a quietus to the opponents; and those who were at first its strong opponents, are now loudly telling their reasons for being in favour of a convention. A few of the leading conventionists are determined that the new constitution shall contain a provision for the gradual abolition of slavery; whilst others declare, that so long as there is a black skin in Kentucky, it should be held in bondage. But that a majority are opposed to slavery, or at least, to the increase of slaves, is clearly shown by the vote upon the bill repealing the law of 1833.

FREE NEGROES IN LOUISVILLE.—The mayor of Louisville gives notice, dated 14th instant, that after twenty days from that time, the act of the Legislature passed in the session of 1845-6, will be enforced against free negroes in that city. That act provides that any free negro who shall come into the State, and remain thirty days, shall be liable to arrest, and upon conviction of the fact, shall give a recognizance, with two sufficient securities, in the sum of \$500, to leave the state within ninety days, and never return; and upon failure so to give recognizance, shall be sold into slavery, to the highest bidder, for one year.

SLAVERY IN TEXAS.—An intelligent correspondent of the *Christian Watchman*, writing from Texas, holds out the idea that slavery will be abolished in Texas. He says:—"West Friend, I have good reason to believe that Texas is to become a free State at no distant day! This comes to me from a gentleman of Texas, in whose means of knowing, and ability to form just opinions, I have great confidence. He says, the Germans, who are coming by ship loads, and settling under the supervision of the agents of their princes and nobles, who have obtained large tracts of land, are, to a man, opposed to slavery; and this has already been manifested in their local elections, and indeed, that Governor Houston was compelled, by the force of popular opinion, to divest himself of his slaves, in order to secure his re-election to the United States senate."

SLAVERY IN CALIFORNIA.—By the kindness of a gentleman who crossed the plains with Commodore Stockton, we are placed in possession of letters and papers from California. The *Californian* of the 26th June, contains a strong article against the introduction of slavery into that territory. The editor says that the population are 100 to one against it, and that the warmest advocates, after a residence of one year, become the strongest opponents to slave labour. He counsels the emigrants against bringing their slaves, and states that several who have done so, have been glad to get clear of them on any terms. The strongest reason he urges against the introduction of blacks is the following:—

"In California we have an immense population of Indians, who were born on the soil, and have neither the disposition nor the means of living anywhere else; and they are willing and capable of being good servants and labourers. They can work much cheaper than an American coloured man, and can live at one-fourth the expense."—*St. Louis Reveille.*

We learn from this, two important facts, the strongest possible in favour of the Wilmot proviso: first, that planters are already carrying their slaves into California; secondly, that 100 to one of the people are dead against the introduction of slavery. Here, then, we see at once the necessity and the reasonableness of inhibiting the slavery in that country.

PROGRESS OF FREEDOM.—The *Southern Observer* says, "Quite a spirited discussion is going on in the Charleston papers about the propriety of having separate houses of worship for the slaves, and of giving them religious instruction. A writer, in the *Evening News*, after commenting upon the article of his opponent, remarks, in closing, that the time is near at hand when no institution can long endure in the civilized world, which is inconsistent with the spread of knowledge and religion. The true policy the best security of the South, is to maintain that slavery is consistent with everything that is good, and that we are not afraid to give the slave the word of God. He says, The moment the South admits that we dare not, our doom is sealed."

LIBERIA.—By a late arrival we have received a file of the *Liberia Herald*. This interesting bantling of the Peculiar Institution has completed her arrangements to become an independent Republic. The constitution and declaration of independence are published at length in the *Herald*.

A STEP TOWARDS EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA.—The *Frankfort Gazette* of the 21st ult. publishes an imperial Ukase of the Emperor Nicholas, dated St. Petersburg, 20th ult., which permits the present serfs throughout the monarchy to purchase the property of their masters, when sold by public auction. By such purchase, they acquire all the rights attached to the property. This is a very important movement.

Miscellanea.

Her Majesty's steam vessel *Growler*, Commander Hall, has arrived at Portsmouth from Bermuda. Having been very sickly she proceeded first to the quarantine ground at the Motherbank, where she was detained some hours under survey before she obtained pratique. This was the vessel fitted out at Woolwich this twelve months since as a free emigrant ship for slaves from the coast of Africa to the West India Islands, but that experiment having resulted in nothing but sickness and disease to our seamen and officers, we fancy this trial will be sufficient to prove the danger and inutility of the attempt to transmigrate African slaves for free labourers in our sugar plantations. Commander Potbury died of the fever caught in his first voyage from the Western coast of Africa to the West India Islands, with his first cargo of slaves or free Negro emigrants, and the ship has never since been free of pestilence until now. The vessel has been sent home by Admiralty order, to be converted to other and more practicable uses. She has brought naval and military invalids and Government despatches, which were landed in the harbour.—*Morning Chronicle*.

We extract from a private letter the following account of the attack and capture of a piratical felucca by the boats of Her Majesty's sloop *Philomel*, off the Gallinas, on the West coast of Africa:—"On the 13th of January, about three in the afternoon, Her Majesty's sloop *Philomel*, being at anchor off the Gallinas, observed a felucca to the westward. The anchor was immediately weighed, and all sail made in pursuit. Her Majesty's brigantine *Dart* was seen six miles to the north-west also in chase. At sunset, the wind having died away, the first gig, in charge of Mr. Byford, the master, was despatched to board the vessel, which was soon after lost sight of. At daylight the following morning the gig and three boats of the *Dart* were seen closing on the felucca, then taking advantage of the land breeze. About seven o'clock she commenced firing on the boats, striking the gig in several places, severely wounding one of the men, and obliging the boat from her leaky condition to return on board. About ten a.m., the breeze falling light, the pinnace was hoisted out and despatched in charge of Lieutenant Wharton, accompanied by Lieutenants Boughey and Crowder, Mr. Domville, surgeon, fourteen seamen, and three marines. After a hard pull of four hours, having in the interim met the first gig, and left Mr. Domville with the wounded, they overtook the three boats of the *Dart*, fatigued with eighteen hours' previous exertion and unable to keep company in consequence. On getting within range, the felucca opened fire with a discharge of grape and canister from her long eighteen-pounder gun, which was responded to by three enthusiastic cheers from the boats' crew, who redoubled their exertions to reach her. She was then using her sweeps to increase her distance and keep the gun to bear on the boats. The pinnace was rapidly gaining upon her, closely followed by the second gig, and when within 100 yards sustained a second discharge of double-headed chain and grape shot, followed up by repeated and well directed volleys of musketry, steadily answered by the officers and marines not at the oars. In a few minutes the pinnace was under her counter, when the felucca fired her gun immediately over the boat, throwing down by the concussion those who had risen to board. They, however, soon gained the deck, gallantly headed by the officer in command, and for several seconds sustained a hand to hand encounter with the pirates who remained on deck; others rushed below or over the sides of the vessel. At this moment, the second gig, which was in charge of Mr. Byford, with Messrs. Domville and Watson, the acting paymaster and purser, volunteers, who had left the *Philomel* about an hour after the pinnace, and had maintained a brisk discharge of musketry when approaching, boarded on the opposite quarter, and assisted in dislodging and securing the numerous prisoners who still persisted in firing up the hatchways. The *Judio Errante* (which appears to be her name) sailed from Bahia on the — of November, 1847, with a crew of 48 men, six of whom had landed at the Gallinas; 29 remain prisoners, the others having been either killed or drowned. She is about 60 tons burden, carries an 18 pound gun nine feet long weighing 24 cwt., and is pierced for 30 sweeps. She hoisted no colours during the attack, and the only flags found on board were a red one and one British ensign. The capture was not effected without severe loss on the part of the boats, seven of the pinnace's men being wounded—three severely."—*Times*.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—Mr. Hume has obtained a return showing that the number of British ships of war employed on the coast of Africa in the abortive attempt to suppress the slave-trade, in the month of June, 1847, amounted to 259, manned by 2,781 men. The aggregate expense of this armament in the year 1846-47 is estimated at £301,623, including £220,233 for the wages and victualling of the crews, £49,313 for the

wear and tear of the vessels, £17,790 for the wear and tear of the machinery of the steamers, and £14,287 for the expense of coals. The total number of French ships of war employed on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade amounts, as far as the same can be ascertained, to 20, equipped with 216 guns. There are only two American cruisers on the station.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
London. —Southwark Ladies' Negro Friend Society	6 0 0	—
Rothery, Wm. Esq.	5 0 0	—
Staines. —Ashby, Thomas	—	1 1 0
Tottenham. —Begg, Susanna	—	1 0 0
Fox, Samuel	—	1 0 0
Kingston. —Marsh, John	0 10 0	—
Chelmsford. —Candler, John	—	1 0 0
Cheltenham. —Monro, Frederick	—	1 0 0
Exeter. —Ladies' Anti-slavery Society	6 6 6	—
Milward, Thomas	—	0 10 0
Dymond, Robert	—	1 1 0
Dymond, Robert, Jun.	—	0 10 6
Sparkes, Rachel	—	1 1 0
Drewe, William	—	1 1 0
Lee, William	—	1 1 0
Wilkey, J. F.	—	0 10 0
Davies, Samuel	—	0 10 0
Dymond, John	—	0 10 0
Knott, Thomas	—	0 10 0
Pryor, Joseph	—	0 10 0
Sparkes, Thomas T.	—	0 10 0
Bristol. —Ladies' Anti-slavery Society	6 0 0	—
Hitchin. —Auxiliary	21 0 0	—
Chatham. —Brock, Edward	—	0 10 0
Toomer, Mr.	—	0 5 0
Young, Joseph	—	0 10 0
French and Son	—	0 10 0
Mullenger, George	—	0 5 0
Martin, Henry	—	0 10 0
Balcumb, Thomas	—	0 5 0
Burr, Thomas	—	0 5 0
Knight, J. M.	—	0 5 0
Wheeler, Mary	—	0 5 0
Styles, Robert	—	0 5 0
Finch, Edward	—	0 5 0
Ross, Edward	—	0 2 6
Tatum, William	—	1 10 0
Stroud. —Wheeler, Samuel	—	0 10 0
Wheeler, Frederick	—	0 10 0
Horsnail, Mary	—	0 5 0
Horsnail, W. C.	—	0 10 0
Kendal. —Crewdson, W. D.	5 0 0	—
Whitehaven. —Peile, George	—	1 1 0
Woodbridge. —Ladies' Anti-slavery Society ..	4 0 0	—
Webster, Rev. G.	—	0 10 0
Taylor, Rev. H.	—	0 10 0
Norton, Mr.	—	0 10 0
Alexander, Mr.	—	0 10 0
Jesup, Mr.	—	0 10 0
Thompson, P.	—	0 10 0
York. —Rowntree, Joseph	—	1 1 0
Spence, Joseph	—	1 1 0
Tuke, Samuel	—	1 1 0
Fletcher, Caleb	—	0 10 6
Waller, Alice	—	1 1 0
Fletcher, Martha	—	2 2 0
Scurr, Hannah	—	0 10 0
Backhouse, Sarah	—	0 10 0
William, C.	—	1 1 0
Tuke, J. H.	—	1 1 0
Helston. —Anti-Slavery Society	3 13 2	—
Colchester. —Shewell, Joseph	—	0 5 0
Mills, Mr.	—	0 5 0
Cross, William	—	0 13 8
Chaplin, William	—	0 5 0
Rudkin, T.	—	0 5 0
Barnes, T. S.	—	0 5 0
Carr, Rev. Samuel	—	0 5 0
Buck, William	—	0 2 6
Taylor, John, Jun.	—	0 10 6
Philbrick, M. G. B.	—	0 3 0
Knight, Thomas	—	0 5 0
Shaw, Robert	—	0 5 0
Tabor, Sarah	—	0 2 6
Francis, W. W.	—	0 2 6
Kent, W.	—	0 2 6
Wicks, James	—	0 2 6
Eisdell, J. C.	—	0 2 6
Tabor, J. A.	—	0 5 0
Demerara (W. I.) —Smith's Church, Corgregation of	2 10 0	—
Do. Sunday-school	2 2 4½	—